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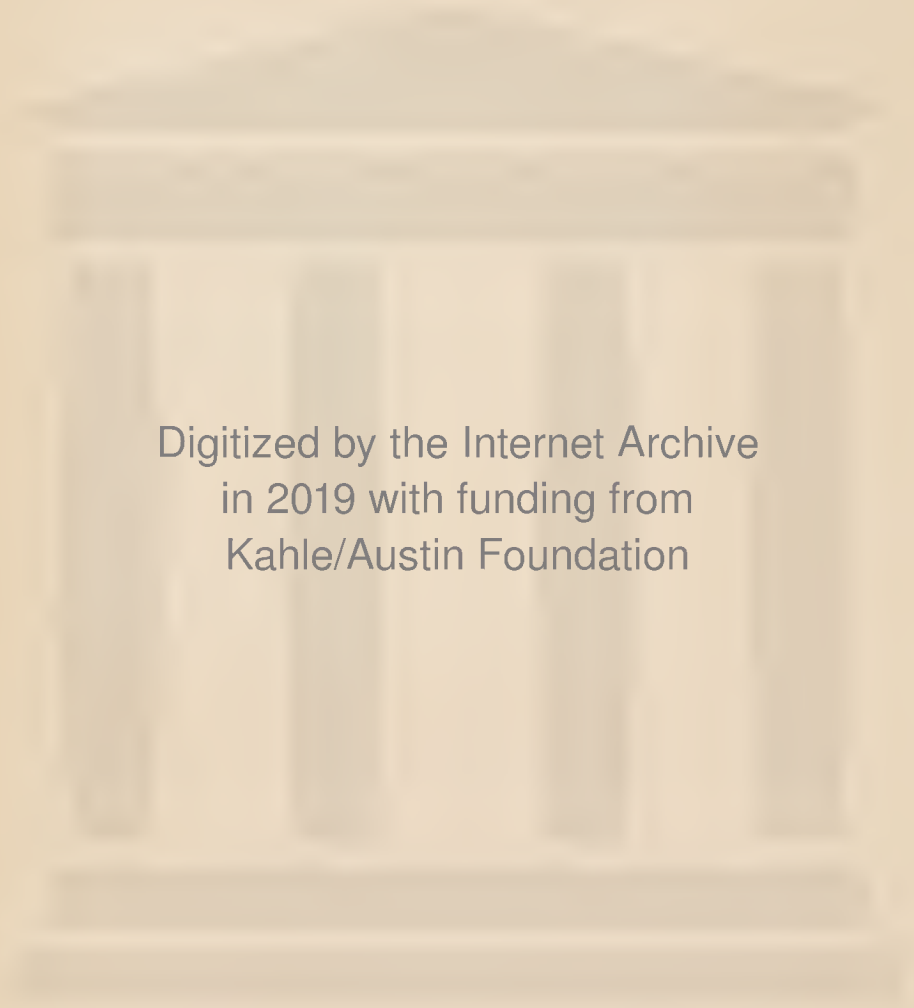

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of the

Westchester County
Historical Society

(Founded 1874)

Volume VIII

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SAMUEL SEABURY
November 30, 1729—February 25, 1796

Publications of the Westchester County Historical Society
(Founded 1874)
Volume VIII

Letters of a Westchester Farmer

(1774-1775)

By
The Reverend
Samuel Seabury
(1729-1796)

Edited with an Introductory Essay
by
Clarence H. Vance

Published for Westchester County by the
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FOREWORD

In presenting an edition of Bishop Seabury's "Letters of a Westchester Farmer" the Westchester County Historical Society are well assured that they conserve the literary and political tradition of the county and nation. For the first time there are brought together in one volume four pamphlets which, though vehemently praised and execrated a hundred and fifty years ago, have through want of reprinting long since fallen into that class of literature that is often spoken of but seldom read.

Two biographies of the author, Samuel Seabury, which appeared in the nineteenth century, briefly summarized these Loyalist tracts, but they became more widely known through the excellent chapter on them in Moses Coit Tyler's *Literary History of the American Revolution.* The full set of the pamphlets can be found today only in a few libraries, such as that of the New York Historical Society, from whose copies, graciously put at our disposal, this text is reproduced.

It has been said that only one pamphleteer of the Revolution surpassed Samuel Seabury in controversial power and effectiveness, that one being Thomas Paine (Tyler, I, 349), another name, it will be noted, familiar in the annals of this county. The first American historian to take Seabury's point of view of the controversy was Henry B. Dawson in his section of Scharf's *History of Westchester County,* published in 1886, where the Westchester Farmer is cited with great respect. But Dr. Seabury can speak best for himself. His clear, blunt Anglo-Saxon prose, cleaned of all encumbrance, moves forward with fearless logic. Never once does the author forget the character he assumes, that of an intelligent and independent yeoman; the choice of words, the homely, practical illustrations, the bluff frankness of the argument, are all perfectly appropriate. Indeed, as a tiller of his glebes in Eastchester and Westchester the honest rector had a right

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to call himself a farmer. A big and energetic man in body, a hard-hitting controversialist throughout his life, his sinewy phrases are like limbs and fingers carrying the force of his personality; if ever style is the man, it is so here.

In his critical essay on Dr. Seabury and his pamphlets, Mr. Vance has given us the benefit not only of close study of printed and manuscript material in this country but of extensive special research in Great Britain. A discovery which adds interest is the exchange of "cards" between the author and his leading critic in the columns of the *New York Gazette* while the pamphlets were the subjects of general debate. The Society feels itself fortunate in presenting not only a collection of historical sources influential in the Revolutionary struggle, but with them so authoritative a commentary. In outlining the Farmer against his intellectual background of Anglican Loyalism, Mr. Vance gives a richer meaning to the text itself.

Dixon Ryan Fox,
Chairman of the Annual Publication Committee,
Westchester County Historical Society.

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(The title-pages are facsimilies of the originals)

LETTERS OF A WESTCHESTER FARMER

Introductory Essay

IN republishing in one volume the A. W. Farmer pamphlets, which were written by the Rev. Samuel Seabury, then Rector of St. Peter's Church, Westchester, New York, and later Bishop of Connecticut and Rhode Island, it is the Society's purpose to make available for students of history, generally, another interesting and important part of the controversial literature growing out of the religious and political struggles preceding the rebellion of the American Colonies against the mother country.

Our historians of the past appear to have placed too great an emphasis upon the political phase of the contest leading up to the revolution, and to have overlooked the importance of the religious; but, as the historians of the future delve deeper and deeper into the records of the battle of creeds and dogmas for New-World supremacy, they will find it to be one of the greatest, if not the greatest of the underlying causes of the revolution. To any historian studying chiefly the religious records of Colonial America, as many others have studied the political, it would appear that the religious strife between the Church of England and the Dissenters furnished the mountain of combustible material for the great revolutionary conflagration, while the disputes over stamp, tea, and other taxes and regulations acted merely as the matches of ignition.

Americans have been taught and have enjoyed believing, always, that their dissenting forefathers came to these shores to escape religious oppression and persecution in the countries of the Old World; and to find a place where they would be free to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences. This teaching, however, was disputed even before the war for independence, by such prominent Anglican men of affairs as Sir William Johnson who once wrote regarding the struggle between Anglicans and Dissenters, "in all Writings

the Americans are Represented as a people who came here on acct. of their Principles, than w'ch nothing can be more false except as to a Very few in Some of the Colonies.—The passion for Adventuring, a Prospect of Gain, Want of property, Inconstancy of Disposition & some other Circumstances that need not be ment[d] brought together the Majority of its Inhabitants."[1]

Whatever reasons the Dissenters had for coming to America, and however much they differed in religious beliefs among themselves, we find them early united and struggling against the encroachments of the Church of England upon their liberties; and, with some notable exceptions of broad-minded Anglican laity who later united with the Dissenters in their fight for religious and political freedom and equality, the same alignment continued, up to and throughout the war for independence. In 1769, Lieut. Gov. Colden wrote concerning the Dissenters of different denominations inhabiting the country surrounding Coldingham, his rural estate, who were continually disputing among themselves, "One thing however they seem to agree in & the only one in which they do, viz. a blind, bigoted prejudice & opposition to the Church of Engld., the removal of which must be the work of time."[2] On the other hand, there is abundant evidence that all of the Anglican clergymen and a large majority of the laymen in New York, New Jersey and the New England Colonies remained loyal to the King.[3]

While, no doubt, the Dissenters were not entirely blameless for their antagonistic attitude towards the Anglicans, it is easy to discover that they had reasons in abundance for so bitterly opposing the beliefs and teachings of the Church of England, and the acts of the Royal Government that promoted and protected them in opposition to the beliefs and teachings of the Dissenters.

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[1] Sir Wm. Johnson to Rev. Samuel Auchmuty and Rev. Chas. Inglis, 26 Apr. 1770, in Johnson MSS., Library of Congress.

[2] Cadwallader Colden, Jr., to Secy. of Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, hereafter cited as the S. P. G., 10 June, 1769. Hawks, F. L., New York Transcripts, II, 481-482, N. Y. Hist. Soc. Library.

[3] Rev. Chas. Inglis to Rev. Dr. Hind, Secy. S. P. G., 31 Oct., 1776, in O'Callaghan's *Documentary History of the State of New York*, III, 638; and Rev. Samuel Seabury to Secy. S. P. G., 29 Dec., 1776, in Hawks' N. Y. Transcripts, II, 600-6, N. Y. Hist. Soc.

Some of the more important of these Anglican teachings were: that the Church of England was the one and only true Church of Christ[4]; that no one could become a Christian or be ordained to the ministry outside its fold[5]; that legitimate marriages could be solemnized only by Anglican clergymen[6]; that the King ruled by divine right[7]; that submission, obedience, and loyalty to the King and Government were Christian duties[8]; that an established national Church is essential to the life and security of every nation[9]; that one cannot live without the other and they must rise or fall together[10]; that the government must derive its "surest support" from members of that Church[11]; that the government's "best security in the Colonies does and must always arise, from the Principles of Submission and loyalty taught by the national Church[12]; that "Independence in Religion will naturally produce Republicans in the State and from their Principles, too prevalent already, the greatest evils may justly be apprehended"[13]; that the triumph or supremacy of the Church of England and the retaining of the American Colonies were essential to the preservation of the Empire; and that, since these things were so, and the Church of England was the national as well as the one and only true Christian Church, the Dissenters had no inherent rights, but were merely tolerated as a necessary evil in as few privileges as possible until they could be either persuaded or forced to conform to the established Church. As

[4] Rev. Wm. Smith, "Thoughts upon the present State of the Church of England in America"; Rev. Samuel Johnson to the Archbishop of Canterbury, 15 Apr., 1759 and 10 Apr., 1762 in Lambeth MSS. No. 1123. See also Wm. Smith Papers, IV, entry for 26 Jan., 1774, N. Y. Pub. Library.

[5] Rev. T. B. Chandler to Secy. S. P. G., 6 April, 1761, in Hawks' New Jersey Transcripts, 494-495, N. Y. Hist. Society.

[6] Wm. Smith Papers, I, 12, III, 1-8, 13, 42, 61-3, 245, 259-63, in N. Y. Pub. Library.

[7] W. S. Wallace, *The United Empire Loyalists*, Toronto, 1914, 9-10.

[8] Clergy of N. Y. and N. J. to Sir Wm. Johnson, 29 Nov., 1766. Johnson MSS. in Library of Congress.

[9] Even after the Colonies had won their independence, Rev. Jonathan Boucher wrote to General Washington, advising him against "the Utopian Projects respecting Universal Equality on the Subject of Religious Establishments," saying, "it is romantic & mischievous in the Extreme . . . . the Practice of the whole World is against You," that history has proved "that, to secure permanent national Felicity, some permanent national Religion is absolutely necessary," and "sound Policy will sooner or later adopt . . . the old Establishment of the Church of England." Boucher to Washington, 25 May, 1784. Washington MSS. Vol. 13, p. 1695, Library of Congress.

[10] Rev. Samuel Seabury to S. P. G., 17 April, 1766. W. J. Seabury, *Memoir of Bishop Seabury*, (N. Y., 1908), 7-9.

[11] N. Y. and N. J. Clergy to Hillsborough, 12 Oct., 1771. *Archives of the State of New Jersey*, 1st Series, X, 309-313

[12] N. Y. & N. J. Clergy to S. P. G., 3 Oct., 1765, S. P. G. B MSS. No. 24, N. J. 314.

[13] *Ibid.*

one prominent clergyman expressed it, "These restless People enjoy Privileges enough already by the Act of Toleration; should they be vested with more, they will indanger the established Church, to say nothing of the State."[14] At a later date, the Anglican Clergy wrote to Hillsborough regarding the need for Bishops in America. "We wish not to interfere with the Rights or Privileges of Others, or to abridge that Ample Toleration they already enjoy."[15] It was not "ample toleration," but freedom and equality that the Dissenters wanted.

While holding such erroneous ideas relating to the essential unity of Church and State and to their divinely given rôle as leaders of the one true National Church, it was impossible for the Anglican Clergy even to imagine a nation like America today, built upon the detested republican principles of the Dissenters, where all religions are on an equality and everyone believes and worships as he pleases, without State interference. Had their vision penetrated far enough into the future to contrast a free, rich and progressing American Episcopal Church of the twentieth century with a decadent Anglican Church that, in their day, was being used as a pawn by politicians, they would have taken their place among our greatest pre-revolutionary republican leaders.

With the record of their beliefs before us, however, it is not difficult to see why the Anglican clergy stopped at nothing which they thought would promote the interests and growth of their Church or would block every avenue of progress for the Dissenters; and why they were the most ardent American champions of the King and Parliament, and, at least in New York, did practically all of the writing on the Loyalist side of the controversy.

On the other hand, we can understand why the Dissenters, each group of whom believed with equal firmness that its teachings were right and all others wrong, united on the one

[14] Rev. Samuel Auchmuty to Sir Wm. Johnson, 14 March, 1767. Johnson MSS. Library of Congress.
[15] N. J. Archives, 1st Series, X, 309-313.

principle of defending, at whatever cost, their religious liberties against the encroachments of this ambitious little minority of Anglicans backed by an arbitrary Government three thousand miles away. According to the estimates of its most enthusiastic adherents, the Church of England in the Colonies in 1759 numbered less than one-third of the white inhabitants, and in some colonies not more than one-tenth.[16] Some writers put the number as low as one-twentieth.[17]

The first great struggle between the Church of England and the Dissenters in New York began many years before the birth of the author of the A. W. Farmer pamphlets, but he felt the effects of it in his ministry at Jamaica, L. I., some sixty years later. On the 22nd of September, 1693, Gov. Fletcher of New York, after numerous threats and attempts at intimidation, succeeded in getting an Act passed by the Colonial Assembly, providing for the maintenance of a Protestant Church in five counties surrounding New York City.[18] Seeking to guard the interests of the Dissenters, the Assembly provided for the selection and calling of a minister in each parish by a majority vote of the Freeholders. This provision would have placed a Dissenting minister in each parish church; but, by arbitrarily misinterpreting the law and following their instructions from the King, the Governors drove out the popularly elected Dissenting ministers, placed tax-supported[19] Anglican clergymen in their places and, thus, kindled fires of hate

[16] Rev. Wm. Smith to Archbishop of Canterbury, 27th and 28th Nov., 1759. Brodhead, J. R., *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York,* VII, 406-417, a MS. copy of which is in the Rev. Wm. Smith's MSS., Vol. I, from Archives of General Convention, now at the N. Y. Hist. Society. See also, Smith's "Thoughts upon the present State of the Church of England in America," June, 1764, same collection, Vol. IV.

[17] Clergy of N. Y. and N. J. to S. P. G., 3 Oct., 1765, in S. P. G. MSS., B24, N. J., 1759-1782, No. 314. *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York,* (Albany, 1905), V, 3611-3612, note. Ezra Stiles MSS., Yale U. Letters I, 29-38, 480-98; II, 105-12; IV, 144-7; Itinerary 1756-62, 436.

[18] The relative number of Anglicans compared to Dissenters in the Colony at that time may be judged from the facts that in 1678 there was only one Anglican Church in the Colony and in 1693 there was only one Anglican in the popularly elected Assembly. See quotation from Gov. Andros by Chas. A. Briggs in "Puritanism in New York, Its Origin and Growth until the Middle of the 18th Century," *Magazine of American History,* XIII (1885), 46-47; also a quotation from Gov. Fletcher to the Board of Trade, 9 Oct., 1693, in Geo. H. Moore's "Work And Materials For American History," in *Historical Magazine And Notes and Queries,* I, Second Series (1867), 327-328.

[19] Rev. Samuel Auchmuty to Rev. John Waring, 9 May, 1768, Library of Congress Photostats S. P. G. MSS. of Dr. Bray's Associates, Am. Correspondence, 1742-1768.

in the hearts of the Dissenters that were quenched only by the blood of the Revolution.[20]

On the 30th of November, 1729, thirty-six years after the New York Church Establishment Act, a second son was born to the Rev. Samuel Seabury, the minister of the Congregational Church in North Groton, Conn. On December 14th, the baby was christened Samuel Seabury, Jr., in the father's church. His mother, Abigail Mumford Seabury, was a daughter of a Warden in the Church of England at New London, Conn.; and her influence, no doubt, had something to do with her husband's decision to enter the priesthood of that Church a few months later, as Abraham Beach, Timothy Cutler, Samuel Johnson and other Congregational ministers had done. He was ordained by the Bishop of London in August, 1730, and was sent by the S. P. G., as a missionary to New London, Conn., at a salary of fifty pounds a year. The mother died soon after they moved to New London, and the father later married Elizabeth Powell, a daughter of Adam Powell of Rhode Island, also a member of the Church of England. Young Samuel, therefore, was reared by his stepmother. The father continued to minister to the Church at New London until 1742, when he was transferred to Hempstead, Long Island, where he both preached and conducted a school. He remained in this parish until his death 15 June, 1764.

Samuel, Jr., probably received both his early academic and his theological training in the school conducted by his father. He entered Yale College in 1744 and was graduated B. A. in 1748. Both Yale and King's College, New York, later conferred upon him the Master's degree.

Under the guidance of his father, he did his first Church work at Huntington, L. I.; where, for nearly four years before his ordination, he conducted the church services by reading

[20] For brief, interesting accounts of the N. Y. Church Establishment struggle, see Geo. H. Moore, "Work and Materials For American History," 321-333; Chas. A. Briggs, "Puritanism In New York," 39-58; Gabriel P. Disosway, *The Earliest Churches of New York and Its Vicinity* (New York, 1865); Col. Lewis Morris to S. P. G., 20 Feb., 1711, in E. B. O'Callaghan's *Documentary History of The State of New York* (*Albany*, 1849-51), III, 244-49.

prayers and sermons. For this work, he was paid ten pounds a year by the S. P. G., and an unknown sum by his parishioners, as the following receipt indicates: "Received of Henry Lloyd Thirty Shillings which is in full of his three first halfe years of his subscription for my service in the Church at Huntington. Nov. 30, 1750. Saml Seabury Junr."[21] Meanwhile, as he served this church and waited to reach the age required for ordination, he studied medicine, or physic as it was then called, which he intended to use as an auxiliary to his missionary work, as his father and numerous other clergymen had done.[22] To complete his medical training, he embarked from New York for Edinburgh, in August, 1752, and spent a year studying physic and anatomy at the University of Edinburgh before applying for ordination to the Bishop of London.

At the required age of twenty-four, he presented himself to the Bishop of London and was ordained as deacon and priest, by the acting Bishop, on the 21st and 23rd of December, 1753, respectively. On the latter date, the Bishop licensed him a priest in New Jersey, and the S. P. G. sent him as a missionary to New Brunswick at a salary of fifty pounds a year. He arrived at his mission the 25th of May, 1754, where he was joyously received. One of his relatives described him, at the time, as being "an excellent physician, a learned divine, an accomplished gentleman and a pious Christian."[23]

The second great struggle between the Church of England and the Dissenters in New York was in full progress when young Mr. Seabury arrived in America; and he indicates in his Memorial to the Royal Commissioners that, immediately, he began to use his pen on behalf of the Church,[24] and, "did, in conjunction with a number of his Brethren & friends, write several essays & papers in answer to the Watchtower, with a view to prevent the ill effects it might have on the minds of the people." The "Watch Tower," referred to by Mr. Seabury,

[21] *Papers of The Lloyd Family Of The Manor Of Queen's Village, Lloyd's Neck, Long Island, N. Y.*, 1654-1826 (N. Y. 1927) I, 471.
[22] Beardsley, E. E., *Life and Correspondence of the Right Reverend Samuel Seabury* (2nd ed., Boston, 1881) 6.
[23] Seabury, W. J., *Memoir of Bishop Seabury* (New York, 1908) 9.
[24] *Ibid.*, 136.

was the title of the third and last series of articles published in the local newspapers in opposition to the founding of a sectarian college in New York; the titles of the first two series being the "Independent Reflector," which was suppressed as a result of the pressure the Anglicans brought to bear upon the printer by means of boycott and intimidation,[25] and *The Occasional Reverberator.* Some of the MS. copies of these articles are to be seen among the unbound MSS. of William Smith, the historian, at the New York Public Library.

The officials of the Church of England in New York had been considering, for half a century, the building of a college; and, had they been satisfied to establish an Anglican college, as such, there would have been no objections, probably, by the Dissenters. When, however, they showed a determination to secure perpetual control of the Provincial college that was to be supported from the public funds, the Dissenters, who were greatly in the majority,[26] started a bitter fight, both in the Colonial Assembly and in the Press.

One peculiar feature about this literary battle, as well as the two other great battles that followed it, was that, on behalf of the Church of England and the Royal Government, the Clergy did practically all of the writing; while, on behalf of the Dissenters, the clergy did practically none of the writing. When William Livingston and his Whig Club colleagues started their series of articles entitled the "Watch Tower," Mr. Livingston wrote to Rev. Noah Wells requesting his assistance in supplying the weekly articles, lest the printer would refuse them space if they skipped a week or two.[27] Possible causes for the clergy's being the champions on the one side and the laity on the other were the facts that, whereas, on the one hand, to the Anglican clergy the triumph of their church, the unity of church and State, and the retention of the American Colonies in the Empire were matters of life and death; and, to the Anglican laity, as Dr. Samuel Johnson and Cad-

[25] *Journals of Hugh Gaine, Printer,* ed., by P. L. Ford (N. Y., 1902) I, 10; *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York,* V, 3525-3526.

[26] See "Answer to the ABp's enquiry about B'ps in America" in Fulham MSS. Virginia, 1st Box, No. 150, in Library of Congress Transcripts, Box 318.

[27] 7 Dec., 1754. *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York,* V, 3525-3526.

wallader Colden revealed, the getting of wealth was the chief aim in life; on the other hand, in the College battle, the New York Dissenting clergy had been pacified by being placed on the Board of Governors of the College; and the Dissenting laity were envious because the opposition of the Anglicans, and their own lack of political influence prevented them from securing wealth, through political patronage and large grants of Crown lands, as easily as did the Anglicans.

The open opposition to the sectarian college was conducted, largely, by three young lawyers: Wm. Livingston, the apparent leader whose bitter opposition to everything Anglican may have been influenced by the fact that his mother was making an unsuccessful fight for a part of the now-famous Queen's or King's Farm that Trinity Church has continued to hold despite many claims and lawsuits,[28] William Smith and John Morin Scott, styled "The Triumvirate."

The printed records of this fight, to which Mr. Seabury probably made his first controversial contributions, make interesting reading even now; and the history of King's College and of Columbia for the first three-quarters of a century might have been far more glorious, had the original college been founded upon the broad, unsectarian principles advocated by Wm. Livingston and his colleagues rather than upon those prescribed by the Church of England.[29] [30] The editor of the *Ecclesiastical Records* remarks regarding the final outcome, "At the close of the Revolution, Mr. Livingston's views became triumphant, and all legislation of an opposite character was repealed." He might have added that Mr. Livingston's educational principles are now being adopted, more and more, even by the denominational colleges and universities of America.

The next important event in Mr. Seabury's life appears to have been his marriage to Mary Hicks, a daughter of Edward

[28] Minutes of the Vestry of Trinity Church, Vol. I, 233, 276, 280.

[29] The Anglicans succeeded in securing control of the college but the Dissenters were able to divert half of the money that had been raised for it, by lottery, to the building of a jail and a pest house.

[30] *Ecc. Rec. State of N. Y.*, V., 3520, 3523-3526, 3538-3545, 3556-3560, 3574-3577; 3605, 3613, 3621-3622, 3624-3626. *Journals of Hugh Gaine*, I. 10, 16-17, 51, 89-90, 134, 172, 211-219. *Minutes of the Common Council of New York City*, VI. 78-80. Vestry of Trinity Church to S. P. G. 3 Nov., 1755, in Hawks' N. Y. Transcripts, II, 256-260.

Hicks of Staten Island, 12 Oct., 1756. Possibly, from economic as well as denominational grounds, Mr. Hicks opposed the marriage, and seems never to have become reconciled to it. Despite the father's opposition, however, the daughter remained loyal to her husband, thus making the marriage a happy one.[31]

From New Brunswick, Mr. Seabury was transferred to the more important parish of Jamaica, Long Island, which was assigned to him by Governor Hardy, 12 Jan., 1757. In this parish, however, from the passage of the Establishment Act in 1693, there had existed a bitter struggle for supremacy between the Anglicans and the Dissenters; and, Mr. Seabury, who appears to have been a lover of peace and quiet, notwithstanding the part he took in defending his Church and Government, seems never to have been happy in his work there.[32]

While holding the Parish at Jamaica, he ministered occasionally to pastorless congregations in the surrounding country, especially at Flushing, where, in 1759, he was shocked by the people's deism and infidelity which he thought to be a transition from the Quakerism of the previous generation. From his reports to the S. P. G., his work at Flushing appears to have been more successful than at Jamaica; and one of his Flushing parishioners wrote concerning the encouraging outlook there, "if a judgment may be made from Appearance when the Rev. Mr. Seabury preaches (which is as often as his Parish will admit of), The Church being always crowded & often so that all have not room to Sit that in all likelyhood in a short time there will be a very flourishing (congregation)."[33]

Owing, probably, to financial difficulties resulting from a misunderstanding and a lawsuit between his father-in-law and himself, as well as to religious indifference and the age-old controversy in the parish, Mr. Seabury, as early as 1761, sought to be transferred to the parish at Westchester, N. Y. Concerning the matter, Dr. Samuel Johnson wrote to the

[31] *Memoir of Bishop Seabury*, 26-30.
[32] *Ibid.* 31.
[33] Henry Lloyd to Rev. Samuel Johnson, 1 Dec., 1761. *Papers of the Lloyd Family, etc.*, II, 618-619.

Archbishop,[34] "Mr. Seabury of Jamaica is about petitioning to be removed thither, being a very proper person for that unhappy & long destitute people." In a later letter to the S. P. G., Dr. Johnson wrote, "but since they had chosen Mr. Seabury, (who on Account of his private Affairs seemed under a necessity to leave Jamaica) I wish Mr. Milner had been appointed at Rye."[35] An apparent mistake on the part of the S. P. G. in appointing Rev. John Milner as Rector of Westchester, against the wishes of the Church to have Mr. Seabury, caused the latter to remain at Jamaica for the next six years.

Having failed in his efforts to get Mr. Seabury transferred to Westchester, Dr. Johnson sought a suitable parish for him elsewhere. In a letter to his son, William Samuel Johnson, regarding a minister for New Haven, Dr. Johnson wrote, "Young Seabury would do very well for N. H. but they cannot make it worth his while . . . . But indeed it seems to me none that are bred at Y——— Col. now-adays can be tolerably qualified for that place, or indeed scarce any other."[36]

Mr. Seabury was not permitted long to enjoy the fruits of his successful work at Flushing because of a dispute with Mr. John Aspinwall one of the leading men in the congregation. In 1760, Mr. Daniel Treadwell, a graduate of Yale and a teacher in King's College had been secured to conduct the Church services at Flushing when Mr. Seabury was not present. A few months later, Mr. Treadwell went to England for ordination and was returned as a missionary to Trenton, N. J. The churches at Flushing and Newtown desired Mr. Treadwell for their minister; and, in 1763, he revisited Flushing, opened the church and preached in it without Mr. Seabury's consent. This incident started a controversy between Mr. Seabury and Mr. Aspinwall that was carried on in the New York newspapers for several weeks, the outcome of which seems to be unknown.[37]

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[34] 2 May, 1761. Lambeth MSS. 1123 III, No. 224.
[35] 15 May, 1761. S. P. G. MSS., Series B, Vol. II, No. 78, pp. 252 ff. See also Johnson to Dr. Bearcroft, 30 Apr., 1761, *ibid.*, No. 77, pp. 250 ff.; and several letters between Dr. Johnson and Peter Jay in Library of Congress Photostats from S. P. G. MSS. unbound.
[36] 3 Jan., 1763. Johnson MSS. Vol II, Columbia University.
[37] *Memoir of Bishop Seabury*, 60-73.

On the 15th of June, 1764, Mr. Seabury experienced both a great sorrow and a great loss in the death of his father, at Hempstead, L. I., where he had ministered for twenty years. The father had remained the son's guide and counselor from his boyhood; an ideal relationship which the young man missed from this time forward. So beloved was the father by his parishioners that they built a home for his widow after his decease.

During the same year, Mr. Seabury was disturbed by a visit of the Rev. George Whitefield in his Parish. Although still an ordained minister of the Church of England, Mr. Whitefield had lost respect for its teachings and practices, and had cast its ritualism to the winds; which facts greatly concerned the regular Anglican clergy. Mr. Seabury, who always endeavored to promote a "friendly disposition and mutual intercourse of good offices" between the Anglicans and Dissenters, feared Whitefield's influence would tend to interrupt them.[38]

When a difficulty between the Rev. John Milner of Westchester and Mr. Blecker's family at New Rochelle forced the minister to resign his parish, early in 1765, Mr. Seabury again sought permission from the S. P. G. to remove to that parish, to which his brother had been called as schoolmaster by Mr. Milner some time previous. The transfer was not made, however, until late in 1766; and Mr. Seabury's induction by Dr. Myles Cooper, who had ministered to the Church during the interval, did not take place until the first of March, 1767.[39]

Mr. Seabury had been at Westchester less than a year when he was sought to begin a Mission at Johnstown, N. Y., the residence of Sir William Johnson. The correspondence relating to this matter gives an interesting description of his ability and traits of character. One writer describes him as "a Man of great good Sense, of a cheerful Disposition, and has a moderate Family . . . . the most suitable Person *We*

[38] Beardsley, *Life of Bishop Seabury*, 12-16; *Memoir of Bishop Seabury*, 56-57.
[39] S. P. G. MSS., B 2, Part II, New York, 1759-1782. Seabury MSS. in possession of Judge Samuel Seabury, East Hampton, L. I. Journal of S. P. G., Vol. 17, 1766-68, pp. 36-38.

know to live at Johnstown . . . . being a good Divine and an agreeable Preacher, his skill in Medicines also much esteemed; his Knowledge of which Science was regularly obtained at Edinburgh."[40] Another writer said of him, "He undoubtedly is the fittest Man I know to begin a Mission, having sufficient Abilities, Constitution, Zeal and firmness for such an undertaking."[41] The New York clergy finally prevailed upon Mr. Seabury to make a visit to Johnstown, which he did during the summer of 1769; but the difficult journey of two hundred miles, the disappointment of not seeing Sir William who had gone on a visit to the Senecas' Country, the meagreness of the salary offered, and the expense of moving his family so far, caused him to decline the offer.[42]

The next great literary battle between the Anglican Clergy and the Dissenting laity resulted from the attempts of the Anglicans to have Bishops appointed for the Colonies. In this struggle, however, a few Dissenting clergy took part. Soon after the Church of England started to organize congregations in America, its clergy began to petition for the appointment of Bishops to ordain ministers and to rule over the churches. With one or two exceptions, however, when the petitioners nearly succeeded, the matter had not been pushed with vigor until the clergy of New York and New Jersey united in organizing a Convention. They had been having joint meetings as early as 1758,[43] but seem not to have perfected their organization until 1764 or 1765, when Mr. Seabury was chosen as Secretary. He continued to hold this office until the outbreak of the Revolution made further meetings impossible.

Not only did these Conventions send addresses to the high Church and Government officials in England, practically every year, but they addressed and sent delegations to visit colonial governors and other high officials in America, also, soliciting their aid in securing Bishops. In many of these addresses, the

[40] Dr. Myles Cooper to Sir Wm. Johnson, 6 November, 1767 in Johnson MSS., Library of Congress.
[41] Dr. S. Auchmuty to Sir Wm. Johnson, 14 November, 1768, *ibid.*
[42] S. Seabury to S.P.G., 10 Oct., 1769, in S.P.G. MSS., B2, Part II, 1759-1782, No. 175.
[43] Clergy of N. Y. & N. J. to Bp. of London, 10 Oct., 1766, in Hawks' N. J. Transcripts, pp. 597-609.

clergy paid their respects to the Dissenters, and these respects were not always complimentary. After failing in their attempts to secure Bishops with full ecclesiastical and political powers, they conceived the idea that it would be easier to get Bishops appointed who had no political power and had jurisdiction over their own church only. To this end, the clergy began to work; and, either with the hope of gaining the Dissenters' approval of such a plan, or of weakening their opposition to the appointment of Bishops, the Convention of 1766 appointed a committee, composed of Mr. Seabury and Rev. T. B. Chandler, Rector of the church at Elizabethtown, N. J., to write the publication entitled, "An Appeal to The Public in Behalf of The Church of England.[44] Not having been able to meet with Mr. Seabury, after several weeks' waiting, for the purpose of writing the Appeal, Dr. Chandler wrote it himself and sent it to Mr. Seabury for corrections and additions. When it was not returned at the expected time, Dr. Myles Cooper was sent for it, and Dr. Chandler wrote Dr. Johnson to the effect that the manuscript gave no proof that Mr. Seabury had ever looked into it.[45] Dr. Johnson pronounced the Appeal "the best thing ever done in America" on behalf of securing Bishops.[46]

Whether Mr. Seabury helped to write the Appeal or not, he soon had a plenty to do in helping to defend it; for, soon after its publication the latter part of 1767, replies began to make their appearance in the newspapers of New York and other American cities.[47] The most important of the replies published in New York was that of a series of articles, entitled, "The American Whig," appearing in James Parker's *New York Gazette*. The first of these articles, which were written by Wm. Livingston and his colleagues, appeared in the *Gazette* for 14 March, 1768. The writer charged the Anglicans with trying to deceive the public into believing that they desired a

[44] Dr. Chandler to Dr. Samuel Johnson, 5 September, 1766; 9 January, 15 April and 14 July, 1767, in Johnson MSS. Vol. III, Columbia University.
[45] *Ibid.* 14 July, 1767.
[46] Samuel to W. S. Johnson, 17 May, 1767, *ibid.*
[47] See *A Collection of Tracts From The Late News Papers, etc. Containing particularly The American Whig, A Whip for the American Whig, With some other Pieces, On the Subject of the Residence of Protestant Bishops in the American Colonies, and in answer to the Writers who opposed it, etc. 2 Vols, New York; Printed by John Holt,"* 1768-1769.

Bishop divested of all political power and influence, when, in reality, they wanted "the modern, splendid, opulent, court-favoured, law-dignified, superb, magnificent, powerful prelate;" and maintained "that such a Bishop would be one of the worst commodities, that can possibly be imported into a new country, and must inevitably prove absolute desolation and ruin to this."[48] In the 21st article of this series, published 1 August, 1768, the writer estimated the cost of establishing a Bishop in New York on an equal footing with those in England, at 293,780 pounds; and the annual salaries of the resulting and necessary helpers, etc. to be appointed, at 21,740 pounds.[49]

The plucky Anglican Clergy, who claimed to have won every previous battle, to be superior to their opponents in literary skill, and to be well able to maintain their ground against all odds,[50] held a Council of War and made plans to defend their cause.[51] According to Dr. Chandler, he, Dr. Cooper, Mr. Inglis and Mr. Seabury were "to be the principal Managers" of the defense.[52] They began a series of articles, published in Hugh Gaine's *Gazette,* entitled, "A Whip for the American Whig." Mr. Seabury, in his Memorial, omits Dr. Cooper's name and says that he, Mr. Inglis and Dr. Chandler "bore the whole weight of the controversy with the American Whig, which continued near 2 years."[53] Their Memorials to the Royal Commissioners on Loyalist Claims, to be found in the Public Record Office of Great Britain, and a letter of Dr. Chandler's to Dr. Johnson,[54] however, indicate that practically every clergyman within a hun-

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[48] The correspondence of the Anglican clergy in America at the time proves the truthfulness of the Whig's charge. (Rev. S. Auchmuty to Rev. Dr. Waring, 12 Dec., 1766, S.P.G. MSS. of Dr. Bray's Associates; American Corres., 1742-68; Library of Congress Photostats. Clergy of N. Y. & N. J. to Sir Wm. Johnson, 29 Nov., 1766; Johnson MSS., Library of Congress. Dr. Chandler to Bp. of London, 21 Oct., 1767, in Fulham MSS. N. Y., R. I., N. H., & N. J., No. 12; Lib. Cong. Transcripts, Box 313. Auchmuty to S.P.G., 22 July, 1769, in S.P.G. MSS. B 2, No. 33, pp. 122 ff. Clergy of N. Y. & N. J. to Bp. of London, 2 & 4 Oct., 1765, in Fulham Palace MSS. and L. C. Transcripts.)

[49] *Holt's Collection of Tracts, etc.,* Vol. I, 355-356.

[50] Auchmuty to Dr. Johnson, dated, "N. Y. Wednesday; or rather Thursday Morning one o'Clock", in Hawks Papers, Box 2, N. Y. Hist. Society.

[51] Rev. Chas. Inglis to Dr. Johnson, 22 March, 1768, in Hawks Papers, Box 2, N. Y. Hist. Society. Dr. Chandler to Dr. Johnson, 7 April, 1768, in Johnson MSS., Vol. 3, Columbia University Library.

[52] *Ibid.*

[53] *Memoir of Bishop Seabury,* p. 137.

[54] 7 July, 1768, Johnson MSS. Vol. 3, Columbia University.

dred miles of New York City had an opportunity to use the Whip, but not all of them applied it with "Judgment & Discretion."[55]

On 28 March, 1768, just one week before the first number of the Whip appeared in the same paper, both Mr. Seabury and Dr. Chandler published replies to the first two numbers of the Whig, in Hugh Gaine's *New York Gazette*. Mr. Seabury denied the charge made in the second number of the Whig that the clergy, in a number of addresses to England concerning Bishops, had cast "injurious Reflections upon the other Denominations, as seditious Incendiaries, and disaffected to King and Government."[56] Just how Mr. Seabury arrived at his conclusions, would be difficult to determine; but if we judge his denials by the addresses of the clergy, to which he referred, we must conclude that he stretched the truth to the breaking point.[57] The Convention of the Anglican Clergy, in its October, 1766, meeting, voted to send addresses to the S.P.G., the Bp. of London, the Bp. of Oxford, Dr. Gregory Sharpe, the Dean of Gloucester, Rev. John Rotherham, and probably others.[58]

The first issue of "A Whip for the American Whig," written by Rev. Charles Inglis, appeared in Hugh Gaine's *Gazette* 4 April, 1768; and a third series of articles, entitled, "A Kick for the Whipper," was started by the Dissenters on May 23rd, in James Parker's *Gazette or Post Boy*. The three series ran for more than a year. The Kick concluded with No. XLVIII, 29 May, 1769, and the Whip with No. LXIV, 10 July, 1769. Again, the Clergy took credit for having defeated their enemies and forced them to retire "from the field of controversy, with much ignominy."[59] While, as the Anglicans claimed, they may

[55] *Ibid.*

[56] *Memoir of Bishop Seabury,* 83-84.

[57] Clergy to Bishop London and S.P.G., 20 Sept., 1764, in Fulham and S.P.G. MSS. Clergy to Bp. of London, 2 & 4 Oct., 1765, in Fulham MSS. Clergy to S.P.G., 3 Oct., 1765, in S.P.G. MSS. Clergy to S.P.G., 22 May, 1766, in S.P.G. MSS. Clergy to Bp. of London, 8 & 10 Oct., 1766, in Fulham MSS. Clergy to Sir Wm. Johnson, 29 Nov., 1766, in Johnson MSS., Library of Congress. Clergy to S.P.G., 13 March and 9 April, 1767, in S.P.G. MSS. Seabury to S.P.G., 17 April, 1766, in Beardsley's *Life of Bishop Seabury,* 20-21. Transcripts of a number of these may be found in the Library of Congress and among the Hawks Transcripts at the N. Y. Hist. Society.

[58] Dr. Chandler to Dr. Johnson, 9 Jan., 1767 in Johnson MSS. Vol. 3, Columbia University. *Memoir of Bp. Seabury,* 80.

[59] Inglis to S.P.G., 12 August, 1769, Hawks Trans. N. Y., II, 488-90. *Memorial of Bishop Seabury,* 137.

have won the literary battle; the Dissenters were victorious in causing the appointment of Bishops to be further postponed, which was their objective; and, as one writer put it, they had caused the Bishop of Oxford, and perhaps other English Church authorities, to be "vastly concerned at the Treatment which the Church has received in N. York from the Whig & his Party."[60]

In addition to his part in using the Whip on the Whig, Mr. Seabury, during 1768-1769, was carrying on a fight of his own with the Rev. Dr. Chauncey of Boston, who had written a pamphlet in reply to Dr. Chandler's Appeal, and whom Mr. Seabury accused of being the author of an anonymous letter signed "B. W.", the initials of Gov. Wentworth of Massachusettts. The records available do not indicate the final outcome of this controversy.[61]

After the close of these controversies, there appears to have been a truce for a few years, during which Mr. Seabury was permitted to devote the most of his time, at least, to his regular Parish duties, which consisted of ministering to the Churches at Eastchester and Westchester and having general charge of the parish school, supported by the S.P.G. and taught by his brother until 1768 when his resignation necessitated the employing of another man. At some time during these years, Mr. Seabury started a private boys' school at Westchester, in which "he had more than 20 young Gentlemen, when the rebellion began." Five of them were from the Island of Jamaica and one from Montreal.[62]

He and his colleagues, however, during these years did not lose sight of their pledge to defend the Church and State against their supposed enemies; and they appear to have been more determined than ever to secure Bishops. In 1770, he wrote to the Secretary of the S.P.G. "The violent party heats which prevail in this colony . . . engross at present the attention of the people. But . . . I am confident the behavior of the

[60] Th: Coombe to Rev. Wm. Smith, 7 March, 1769, in Smith's MSS. Vol. IV, N. Y. Hist. Society.
[61] *Memoir of Bp. Seabury*, 89-111.
[62] James Rivington's *N. Y. Gazetteer*, etc., 23 Feb., 1775. J. Scharf, ed., *History of Westchester County, N. Y.*, (Philadelphia, 1888) I, 306, 315-316. *Memoir of Bp. Seabury*, 137.

Church people . . . has . . . done her honor, and will be remembered many years in this country with approbation."[63] The Convention of Clergy, also, from year to year, showered addresses and petitions upon the King, the Ministers, the Archbishops and Bishops, the Universities, and other high government and church officials in England and America, urging the necessity for Bishops; but always receiving the reply that it was not the proper time for their appointment.

Knowing that their continual disappointment regarding Bishops was due to the influence of their supposedly defeated enemies; and believing that the Loyalists, supported by the British Army, were able to defeat the Republicans, the Anglican Clergy appeared willing and even anxious to engage in a final literary struggle. After Parliament's passage of several obnoxious Acts, including the Declaratory Act, and the famous tax on tea which resulted in the Boston Tea Party and the Boston Port Bill, therefore, the literary guns began to roar in rapid succession; first in newspaper articles, and then in pamphlets.

The greater part of the literature on both sides of the controversy was published by James Rivington, on Hanover Square, publisher of the *New York Gazetteer,* the first issue of which appeared 22 April, 1773. The publishing of this literature, however, proved to be both a blessing and a curse to Mr. Rivington who waged a great though unsuccessful fight for a free Press. It created such an interest in his paper that, on 13 October, 1774, he announced the *Gazetteer's* circulation to be 3,600, "a number beyond the most sanguine expectations of the Printer's warmest friends; as the presses of very few, if any of his brethren, including those in Great-Britain, exceed it." On the other hand, it won for him the hatred of the Liberty Boys, whose Committees passed resolutions condemning him as a traitor to American liberties; and who, under the leadership of Isaac Sears, New York's impetuous—Teddy Roosevelt—arch hero of the Revolution, completely destroyed

[63] Beardsley, *Life of Bp. Seabury,* 25-26.

his printing house 23 Nov., 1775. Sears' hatred of Rivington was due largely to a letter that had appeared in the *Gazetteer* criticising Sears.[64]

A great many anonymous letters, and announcements of the publication of numerous pamphlets appeared in the New York newspapers between the early part of 1773 and the date of publication of Mr. Seabury's first known pamphlet late in 1774. Whether he was the author of any of these letters and pamphlets, we have no record. In Rivington's *Gazetteer,* 2 Dec., 1773, however, there appears a letter that seems to have been intended as the first of Mr. Seabury's "Farmer" letters. It is entitled, "Letter I. To The Inhabitants Of the City and Colony of New York;" and is signed, "A Farmer." The facts that, like the A. W. Farmer pamphlets, this letter had a specific address; and that no other numbers appeared, might indicate that, after writing this letter, Mr. Seabury changed his original plan and decided to publish his messages in pamphlet form.

That Mr. Seabury was the author of the four pamphlets signed A. W. Farmer, there is no longer any doubt; but, through an error of judgment, even in recent years, their authorship has been attributed to some of his contemporaries, notably, to Isaac Wilkins. Dr. Myles Cooper, Dr. T. B. Chandler and Rev. Charles Inglis, were also accused of writing the pamphlets. Under the title of "The Westchester Farmer,"[65] Mr. D. Williams gives an interesting discussion of the authorship of these pamphlets. He concludes that Mr. Seabury was the author, and to support his conclusion, prints in full Mr. Seabury's "Memorial to the Royal Commissioners on Loyalists' Claims." Mr. Henry B. Dawson, on the contrary, in his interesting though biased history of Westchester County during the Revolution,[66] questions the genuineness of Mr. Seabury's Memorial published by Mr. Williams and attributes the authorship of the pamphlets to Mr. Wilkins, on the ground that Mr. Seabury,

[64] Rivington's *Gazetteer,* 18 August, 2 and 8 Sept., 1774; 12 Jan. 1775. John Holt's *N. Y. Journal,* 1 Sept., 1774; 26 Jan., 2 Feb., 2 March, and 20 April, 1775.
[65] In the *Magazine of American History* VIII, (1882), 117-122.
[66] In Scharf, J. T., ed., *History of Westchester County, New York,* I, chapter VI.

in his Memorial to the Connecticut Legislature pleaded "not guilty" to the charges, that he had signed a protest at White Plains against the proceedings of Congress, and that he had written pamphlets against the liberties of America.[67] Hon. J. Hammond Trumbull, though inclined otherwise, followed "Mr. Dawson, whose judgment in a question of authorship is nearly infallible".[68] How Mr. Seabury justified his plea of "not guilty" would be difficult to determine, unless he did so either upon the old theories that "self-preservation is the first law of nature", and "All's fair in love and war", or that his activities had been for the good of America, as he firmly believed, rather than against her liberties. With all the records before us, however, we now know that he wrote the pamphlets which the Americans considered against their liberties; and not only signed the White Plains Protest, himself, but was one of the leaders in assembling the hundreds of other men who signed it.[69]

On 24 Nov., 1774, just three weeks after John Holt had published The Proceedings of the Continental Congress on 3 Nov., James Rivington published Mr. Seabury's first pamphlet "Free Thoughts On The Proceedings of The Grand Continental Congress," etc., addressed to the farmers of America in general and of New York in particular.[70] This pamphlet was filled with plain, convincing arguments that, if left unanswered, would have done much toward retaining the loyalty of unsuspecting or unthinking farmers. The effect the non-exportation of flax seed and the prevention of the sale and slaughtering of sheep would have upon both the farmers and those who desired to purchase these commodities, was among the things stressed.

From the Colonial records, we learn that flax was raised in New York as early as 1626;[71] that in 1693 flax seed was pro-

[67] Scharf, *History of Westchester County*, I, 312-315. Beardsley, *Life of Bp. Seabury*, 36-42. *Memoir of Bp. Seabury*, 137-141.

[68] *Historical Magazine, etc.*, III, *Second Series* (1868), 8-10.

[69] See the MS. of his Memorial to the Royal Commissioners in Public Record Office (London) A. O. 13, Bundle 67, MS. copies of Dr. Cooper's and Dr. Chandler's certificates are contained in the same bundle; and Mr. Seabury's own manuscript copy is among the Seabury Papers at East Hampton, L. I.

[70] Charles Evans, *American Bibliography*, etc., V, appears to have mistaken the dates on which Mr. Rivington first announced in his *Gazetteer* that this and the other pamphlets were in the press for the dates of their publication.

[71] Brodhead & O'Callaghan, *Documents Relating To The Colonial History of New York*, I, 37-38.

duced at sixpence a pound, but that high wages made it unprofitable;[72] that, in 1721, no flax was raised in Nova Scotia;[73] and that, in 1735, little more was raised in New York than was needed for private use,[74] wheat then being the chief article for export. The records available from this date forward indicate that practically every farmer raised some flax. The amount sowed ranged from a peck to three bushels, but averaged about a half bushel; whereas the average amount of wheat sowed was three bushels. In 1737, according to one record,[75] flax seed sold for 24 shillings a bushel; but thirty years later the price had fallen to 14 shillings where it remained as late as 1779. In 1752, another record gives the price of flax seed in New York as 4s 6d a bushel, adding "& Don't believe it will be higher this year as they are all in a Hurry to send away soon to Gett the first Market which generally is Highest."[76] The same record gives the price as 7s in 1758. Another Long Island farmer gave the price of flax seed as 9s in 1786.[77] The same manuscript indicates that the prices of grain almost doubled during the war, but sought their pre-war levels by 1785. John Lyon Gardiner of Gardiner's Island,[78] speaks of having eight acres of flax which made 22 loads; 9½ acres of oats and 1½ of barley which together made 23 loads. The great difference in the prices quoted above is probably due to the fact that some writers quoted in Colonial currency while others quoted in sterling. In addition to these references to the flax industry in New York prior to the revolution, Mr. Hugh Gaine published in his paper [79] a comparative statement of the amount of flax seed shipped from New York and Philadelphia of the growth of the years 1772 and 1773. In 1772 there were 17,187 Hhds. shipped from New York to Ireland as compared with 12,523 Hhds.

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[72] *Ibid.*, IV, 36, 315.
[73] *Ibid.*, V, 591 ff.
[74] *Ibid.*, VI, 19.
[75] Van Gaasbeck Account Book, 1736-1811. MS. in N. Y. Hist. Society, pp. 38, 39, 55, 60.
[76] *Papers of the Lloyd Family of the Manor of Queens Village, Lloyd's Neck, L. I.*, 1654-1826. II, 500.
[77] Lawrence Leonard, Day Book, Flushing, L. I., 1773-1821. MS. in N. Y. Hist. Society.
[78] Memorandum Book, 1790-1809. Photostat in N. Y. Public Library.
[79] *N. Y. Gazette, etc.*, 7 Feb., 1774, p. 2.

shipped from Philadelphia; and in 1773, 14,852 Hhds. from New York compared with 12,160 Hhds. from Philadelphia.

Information relating to the growth and sale of sheep in New York prior to the Revolution appears to be scarce; but a few available references indicate that in discouraging the slaughter and sale of sheep, the Americans were reverting to an early English custom; and following the advice of an early French official regarding the best way to promote the multiplicity of sheep in Canada. A report from New Netherland to the Dutch Government, 4 March, 1650,[80] says, "Sheep, which the English do not sell, are rare in New Netherland. . . . . The price of sheep, being an ewe fl. 20 @ (to) 24." In regard to New England, the report is, "Sheep are not sold there." M. Colbert wrote to M. Talon from Versailles, 5 Apr., 1666,[81] refusing to send the addressee a large number of sheep, "the true means to promote the multiplicity of sheep . . . is to prohibit the slaughter of females, and even of a good portion of the males, until the frequent multiplication of each species permit it." The New York Colonial records reveal frequent acts for the returning of stray sheep to their owners and the prevention of the destruction of sheep by dogs.[82] The Day Book of Lawrence Leonard reveals the price of sheep ranging from 15 shillings sixpence in 1774 to one pound six shillings in 1786; and that of lambs ranging from 10 shillings in 1775 to 13 shillings in 1787. The prices of sheep, recorded in the Van Gaasbeck Account Book, do not average so high as those of Mr. Leonard's; but the difference might have been due to a difference in the quality of the sheep sold. These records appear to prove Mr. Seabury erroneous in his contention that the farmers would be injured by the non-exportation and non-consumption agreements.

Mr. Seabury's pamphlet was received with enthusiasm by the Loyalists, and doubtless caused considerable concern both to the patriots and to Mr. Rivington, the printer. Three replies appeared almost simultaneously. On the 15th of De-

[80] *Docs. Rel. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, I, 368-369.
[81] *Ibid.*, IX, 42.
[82] *Ibid.*, V, 782. 909; VI, 160, 221.

cember, there was printed in Holt's *Journal* the first of a series of three letters, signed, "A Country Man." The other two letters of this series appeared in the same paper for 29 Dec. and 5 Jan. Another reply was published in Holt's *Journal* for Dec. 22nd, bearing the signature, "A Weaver In Harrison's Purchase, Westchester County."

The most important of the replies, however, was that by Alexander Hamilton, then a student, under eighteen, in King's College. Its title was, "A Full Vindication of the Measures of the Continental Congress;" and in announcing its publication in his *Gazetteer* for 15 Dec., 1774, Mr. Rivington revealed the satisfaction it gave him, by adding the note: "The Printer, with humble Deference, presumes that this answer will meet with a gracious reception at the hands of every reader who has expressed disapprobation to the Freethoughts of Farmer A. W." That young Hamilton was the author of this and a second reply to Mr. Seabury, is now certain; but, at the time, no one, except one or two of Hamilton's classmates, knew or even suspected that a boy in his teens could have written such an able production. The chief sources of proof for Hamilton's authorship are to be found first, in the pamphlets themselves,[83] in his explanation of his purpose and reasons for writing them; in his denial of being a politician or in any way connected with politics; and in his revealed familiarity with the West Indies and their conditions; and, secondly, in a letter written by Col. Robert Troup, a fellow-student in King's College, who, on the 10th of May, 1775, assisted Hamilton and Nicholas Ogden in rescuing Dr. Myles Cooper, the Tory President of the college from a midnight mob of American enthusiasts who sought to do him harm. Col. Troup's letter, dated March 28, 1828, was written to Col. Timothy Pickering who was then preparing to write a biography of Hamilton, and had solicited from Mr. Troup information regarding Hamilton's college days. In this letter, Mr. Troup denied that John Jay, to whom they had been attributed, wrote the

[83] See the "Full Vindication," pp. 14 and 19.

pamphlets; and affirmed that Hamilton permitted him to read the MSS. before they were published.[84]

So well did young Hamilton acquit himself as a controversalist in the first pamphlet, that even Mr. Seabury gave him credit for wielding his weapons of "artifice, sophistry, misrepresentation and abuse . . . like an old experienced practitioner," but added, "yet Sir, in a literary way, good judges will consider it only as the effort of a genius that never can rise above mediocrity."[85] A later and more sympathetic critic says of the replies, "regarded from whatever point of view and judged by whatever criterion, they stand unchallenged as the most remarkable achievement in their line in the history of our country, if not in that of the world. In the words of George Ticknor Curtis, 'they show a more remarkable maturity than has ever been exhibited by any other person, at so early an age, in the same department of thought.' Hamilton was but eighteen when the last one was written!"[86]

One of Hamilton's biographers relates an unsupported tradition that, when it was learned that the young man was the author of these pamphlets, "it is related that a most liberal offer was tendered Hamilton by Cooper, if he would consent to write in behalf of the ministry."[87] The fact that the British Government endeavored to purchase the loyalty of John Jay and other influential Americans with judgeships, makes the truthfulness of this tradition entirely possible.[88]

In his "Full Vindication," Mr. Hamilton made, first a general refutation of Mr. Seabury's arguments; and then a specific refutation in a direct address to the farmers. In the first part he maintained that the dispute between Great Britain and the American Colonies was not over a 3d a pound duty on tea, but over the principle of "whether the inhabitants of Great

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[84] *Life of Alexander Hamilton* by John C. Hamilton, 7 Vols. (Boston-Cambridge, 1879), I, 46-75.

[85] "A View of the Controversy," etc., p. 4.

[86] George Hamilton Butler, "The Student Days of Alexander Hamilton," *Columbia University Monthly* (N. Y., 1904), 7.

[87] J. C. Hamilton, *Life of Alexander Hamilton*, I, 74-75.

[88] John Jay to John Vardill, 23 May and 24 Sept., 1774; Memorial of John Vardill to the Royal Commissioners, etc. in P.R.O.A.O. 13, Bundle 105; also P.R.O.A.O. 13, Bundle 54; Public Record Office, London.

Britain have a right to dispose of the lives and properties of the inhabitants of America or not?" and "whether we shall preserve that security to our lives and properties, which the law of nature, the genius of the British Constitution, and our charters afford us; or whether we shall resign them into the hands of the British House of Commons, which is no more privileged to dispose of them than the Grand Mogul?"[89] He defended the measures adopted by Congress on the grounds that: they were the only ones that would secure the desired results; that Parliament had no authority to make laws for the Americans, since they had not given it such authority; that the Colonial Charters precluded every claim of Parliament's right to tax the colonies; that the method of Petition and Remonstrance, suggested by Mr. Seabury, would not secure the desired results, since it had failed in securing the repeal of the Stamp Act; that only restriction of trade or resistance by force would attain the desired end; that, to deserve consideration, Ireland and the West Indies should espouse the cause of oppressed America; that the methods chosen by Congress were good policy; and that they had a probability of success.

In his specific address to the New York Farmers,[90] he charged that A. W. Farmer was not a farmer at all, but a ministerial emissary who had assumed the name to deceive. He maintained that, if Americans permitted Parliament to make their laws, there was no limit to which it might not go, and that the property, the religion, and the lives of Americans would all be endangered thereby. He maintained, also, that the farmers were well represented in Congress and would have their interests protected; that even if a depression should result from enforcing the measures of Congress, it would be of short duration, and the farmers would suffer no more than other classes of people, if as much; and that it would be better to pay high prices for a short time, if necessary, than to submit to Parliament and have everything heavily taxed by it in the future.

[89] *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.
[90] *Ibid.*, pp. 22 ff.

Mr. Seabury's second pamphlet, "The Congress Canvassed," published by Rivington, 22 Dec., 1774, who adds, "By the Farmer, A. W., Who wrote Free Thoughts on their Proceedings,"[91] was not a reply to Mr. Hamilton's "Full Vindication" which was published after the former was in the press. It was written to the merchants of New York for the purpose of discrediting Congress and securing the nullification of its measures through non-observance. When, as a warning of danger, he said, "By your present course, you are probably nourishing and bringing to maturity a grand American Republic which shall rise to power & grandeur, upon the ruins of our present constitution. . . . To me the danger appears more than possible. The outlines of it seem already to be drawn,"[92] he proved to be a better prophet than he dreamed. He maintained that the King was King of America by an Act of Parliament the same as he was King of Great Britain; and that it was ridiculous to talk of subjection to the King while refusing submission to Parliament.[93]

An interesting, but apparently unnoticed part of the controversy, heretofore, is the Postscript in this pamphlet, addressed to Mr. Hamilton and written the day after the publication of the "Full Vindication;" Hamilton's reply to the Postscript by "A Card," published in Rivington's *Gazetteer,* 22 December, 1774,[94] and "A Card in Reply," written by "A Warm Admirer of A. W. Farmer," probably either Mr. Inglis or Dr. Cooper, and published in the *Gazetteer,* 29 December, 1774.[95]

For the reader's benefit we reproduce the two Cards herewith.

A CARD.[96]

The "Friend to America presents his compliments to Mr. A. W. Farmer, and begs leave to decline making any remarks upon his Examination into the conduct of the Delegates, until

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[91] Advertisement in the *Gazetteer,* 15 Dec., 1774.
[92] p. 24.
[93] p. 26.
[94] p. 3.
[95] p. 2.
[96] Rivington's *Gazetteer*—12-22-1774, p. 3.

he has seen what he may have to offer, in answer to the Full Vindication, &c. . . . His reasons, there is no necessity to communicate. He assures Mr. Farmer, that he never imagined, anything he could say, would frighten, or disconcert him, or induce him to change his sentiments. He is convinced, that the intellectual eye of every advocate of despotism, is too much blinded to perceive the force of just argumentation: The opinions of such are generally influenced by motives to which Reason can furnish no counter-poise. All the Vindicator proposed to do himself was, to prevent the ill effects of the Farmer's sophistry on others.

With respect to the impropriety of the expression, 'and his wit ridiculed.' The author humbly conceives, it would be no easy task to prove it improper. Wit is, by no means, a positive, or precise term: it has various significations: authors have defined, and applied it in different senses. Genuine wit is used in contradistinction to spurious wit; but if the term wit alone, uniformly conveyed the idea of what we understand by true or genuine wit, then would those adjectives be superfluous, and improper, and their opposites false and spurious, when conjoined with wit, would be absurd. If wit be a relative term, as it evidently often is, why may it not be used to signify the false, as well as the true kind? The Vindicator, however, does not pretend to be infallible, he may be mistaken, and is ready to alter his opinion whenever sufficient reason can be produced. It is confessed, that if wit ought to be understood, in the strictest sense, to which Mr. Farmer seems to confine it, the application of the term to his feeble efforts, would be altogether indefensible. Wit, in such a sense, was not to be found in his piece, and of course 'the impropriety of the expression, and the impracticability of the attempt,' must be conspicuous."

A CARD IN REPLY.[97]

"A Warm Admirer of A. W. Farmer, presents his compliments to Mr. Vindicator, and begs leave to observe to him,

[97] Rivington's *Gazetteer*—12-29-1774, p. 2.

that if he thinks it 'no easy task to prove' the impropriety of the expression, 'and his wit ridiculed' to be improper, he is very sorry that he has no more feeling. He thinks it would have been best for the Vindicator to have taken the hint from the Farmer, and to have corrected the expression in the next edition of his Vindication. If there was no wit in the Free-Thoughts, why did he attempt to ridicule what was not there? If there was only false or spurious wit, why did he not call it so? If the Vindicator has not taste enough to perceive the impropriety, I dare say he will have the Farmer's free permission to blunder on to the end of the chapter; and in conjunction with the Grand Congress, to ridicule wit, kill sheep sparingly, and encrease their number, and improve their breed by keeping weathers, till their want of wit and common sense renders them ridiculous to the whole continent."

In Mr. Seabury's first pamphlet, he boldly asserted that he would die before permitting a Committeeman to enter and search his house for contraband tea, etc., adding, "A good hiccory cudgel shall teach him better manners".[98] In his "View of the Controversy," he stated his purpose in writing and added, "This task I shall endeavor to perform, with all that freedom of thought and expression, which as an Englishman I have a right to; and which never shall be wrested from me, either by yourself or the Congress."[99] A little further on, he repeated his threat to use his "hiccory cudgel" to subdue the patriots, and on "The first committeeman that comes to rob me of my Tea, or my wine, or molasses."[100] When making these assertions, he seems to have lost his prophetic power; but his later conduct proved his statement true when he said, "Yet, let me die, but I had rather be reduced to the last shilling, than that the imperial dignity of Great Britain should sink, or be controlled by any other people or power on earth,"[101]

On the 5th of January, 1775, Mr. Rivington announced in

[98] Page 20.
[99] Pages 3-4.
[100] Pages 5-6.
[101] Page 23.

the *Gazetteer* the publication of "A View of the Controversy,"[102] the third of the A. W. Farmer pamphlets written by Mr. Seabury. It was addressed to the author of the "Full Vindication," and was in reply to that pamphlet.[103] Under the New York news in the *Gazetteer* for 12 January, appeared the following paragraph indicating how the Sons of Liberty showed their contempt for Mr. Seabury's production: "We can assure the public, that at a late meeting of exotics, stiled the sons of liberty, in this city, the pamphlet entitled Farmer A. W's View of the Controversy between Great Britain and the Colonies, &c. published last week by Mr. Rivington, was introduced by one of the mushroons, and after a few pages being read to the company, they agreed, nem. con. to commit it to the flames, without the benefit of clergy, tho' many, very many indeed, could neither write nor read; however their common executioner immediately threw it into the fire, where it was consumed, and its spiritual part ascended in vapour, to the upper regions; whither not one of the company durst aspire, even in idea."

In this pamphlet, as in the two previous ones, Mr. Seabury, who had far more at stake than did his youthful antagonist, was naturally more violent in expressing his feelings. The language he used was quite unbecoming to a clergyman; but not so for a well-to-do farmer whose antagonism had been aroused by a fear that his property, his security and his liberty would be wrested from him by tyrannical Congresses and Committees that had been "chosen by the weak, foolish, turbulent part of the country people."[104] Dr. Beardsley[105] says the language used is "rather in the style of a violent partisan than of a discreet and godly Clergyman"; a true criticism and a complimentary one also, though not so intended, in that it gives Mr. Seabury credit for playing well the rôle of the enraged farmer

[102] "Written by the celebrated Farmer A. W.," was the publisher's note added to the announcement 29 Dec., 1774, in the *Gazetteer*. Mr. Rivington's designation of the author as "Farmer A. W.", possibly accounts for Mr. Wilkins' being accused of the authorship.

[103] Corrections for the typographical errors in this pamphlet were given in the *Gazetteer*, 26 Jan., 1775, p. 3. On the same page appears the following interesting announcement. "James Rivington will make allowance to Buyers who give these—What Think Ye of the Congress Now—and the Farmer's Pieces away."

[104] "Free Thoughts," p. 18.

[105] *Life of Bp. Seabury*, p. 34.

that he had chosen. If he were to be enslaved, it must be by a King rather than by a "parcel of upstart, lawless committeemen"; if he were to be devoured, it must be by the British lion, rather than "gnawed to death by rats and vermin."[106] Here, as in the previous pamphlets, his plain, simple arguments probably made a strong appeal to the unsuspecting farmer; but were easy to refute by an ingenious debater.

On 19 January, 1775, just two weeks after the appearance of the "View Of The Controversy," Mr. Rivington announced the publication of Mr. Seabury's fourth pamphlet, entitled, "An Alarm to the Legislature, of The Province of New York," etc. Unlike the other pamphlets, this one was not advertised as having been written by A. W. Farmer, and did not bear his signature; but similarity of thought and expressions used, and the description of its contents in Mr. Seabury's Memorial to the Royal Commissioners, prove its authorship beyond question. The purpose of this pamphlet, as given by the author,[107] was "to show that by adopting and establishing the proceedings of the Congress as most other Assemblies had done, they would betray the rights and liberties of their constitutents, set up a new sovereign power in the province and plunge it into all the horrors of rebellion & civil war." He did not stop with addressing this pamphlet to the Legislature, but "had also personal interviews with at least one third of the members of that house, with whom he was well acquainted, just before their meeting. How far his writings or conversation had any influence he presumes not to say. The Assembly however rejected the proceedings of the Congress, & applied to the King & Parliament by Petition & Memorial."[108] In reality, however, his efforts were wasted; for, while the Tory-inclined Legislature, as he had advised, was recurring "boldly to your good, old, legal and successful way of proceeding by petition and remonstrance" trying "to obtain a solid American Constitution, such as we can accept safely, and Great-Britain can grant with dignity,"[109]

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[106] "Free Thoughts," p. 18.
[107] *Memoir of Bp. Seabury*, 139.
[108] *Ibid.*, 139-140.
[109] "An Alarm to the Legislature," 13.

the mob of American demagogues, outlaws and renegades, as Mr. Dawson calls them,[110] boldly went about making other plans for securing from Great Britain the liberties and guarantees they had long demanded.

Meanwhile, young Mr. Hamilton had been carefully preparing his long-promised reply, whose publication "in a short Time" was announced in the *Gazetteer,* 19 January, 16 and 23 February, 1775. The fact that on the 9th of March Mr. Rivington's paper announced that "A. W. Farmer, is preparing An Answer to The Farmer Refuted," indicates that it was published about March 1st. The title page of this pamphlet bore the following: *The Farmer Refuted; or, A more impartial and comprehensive View of the Dispute between Great-Britain and the Colonies, intended as a Further Vindication of the Congress: in Answer to a Letter from A. W. Farmer, intitled A View of the Controversy Between Great Britain and her Colonies: including A Mode of determining the present Disputes Finally and Effectually,* &c. *Tituli remedia pollicentur; sed pixides ipsae venena continent. Coke. The Title promises Remedies, but the Box itself contains Poisons. New York: Printed by James Rivington,* 1775.[111]

In an advertisement following the title, the author asserted that he had changed from a strong prejudice on the side of England to favor America, a change which was "the genuine offspring of sober reason," and due to "the superior force of the arguments, in favour of the American claims." Such a claim, he said, was "more than the generality of those, who either espouse, or oppose the claim of the British Parliament," could make.

The opening paragraph contains the following interesting criticism of Mr. Seabury's *View of the Controversy:* "The spirit that breathes throughout is so rancorous, illiberal and impervious: The argumentative part of it so puerile and fallacious: The misrepresentations of facts so palpable and fla-

[110] "Westchester County, New York, During the American Revolution," chap. IV.

[111] For complete reprints of this pamphlet; the *Full Vindication;* and a third, entitled, *Remarks On The Quebec Bill,* promised in *The Farmer Refuted,* see H. C. Lodge, ed., *Works of Alexander Hamilton,* (N. Y., 1904) I, 1-196.

grant: The criticisms so illiterate, trifling and absurd: The conceits so low, sterile and splenetic, that I will venture to pronounce it one of the most ludicrous performances, which has been exhibited to public view, during all the present controversy . . . . But while I pass this judgment, it is not my intention to detract from your real merit. Candor obliges me to acknowledge, that you possess every accomplishment of a polemical writer, which may serve to dazzle and mislead superficial and vulgar minds; a peremptory dictatorial air, a pert vivacity of expression, an inordinate passion for conceit, and a noble disdain of being fettered by the laws of truth. These, Sir, are important qualifications, and these all unite in you, in a very eminent degree."[112]

Contrary to the charge made by Mr. Seabury, he maintained that he was perfectly disengaged from party of every kind; and called those on the side of the Farmer, "a small herd of malcontents . . . a small number inimical to the common voice of your country."[113] He accused the Farmer of being a disciple of "Mr. Hobbs."[114] Having, thus, entrenched himself; with the apparent skill of an expert gunner, supplied with an abundance of superior guns and ammunition, he proceeded to demolish the "straw men" of his antagonist and to set up in their places the claims of the American Colonies that Parliament had no right to legislate for them or to tax them without their consent. One among the many interesting assertions he made was that, between the time of the passage of the Stamp Act and the Boston Port Bill, many formerly ardent patriots were bribed or silenced with offices, appointments, honors, etc., conferred by ministerial agents.[115] Mr. Vardill, as has been cited above, gave proof in his Memorial to the Royal Commissioners that the government was thus bribing influential patriots. On the whole, the pamphlet was a masterful production; and its young author deserves all the praise that has been bestowed upon him as a result.

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[112] Pages 1-2.
[113] Page 3.
[114] Page 5.
[115] Page 57.

The news of the skirmishes at Lexington and Concord reached New York just in time to rob us of a knowledge of the contents of Mr. Seabury's final reply to Mr. Hamilton. This pamphlet, the preparation and speedy publication of which were announced in the *Gazetteer,* 9 March, 13 and 20 April, 1775, bore the title, "The Republican Dissected or the Anatomy of an American Whig, in Answer to the Farmer Refuted. Written by A. W. Farmer." From its title, therefore, we would judge that it was intended to be the super-gun, the Big Bertha of the campaign; and, in abusive language, would probably have surpassed anything previously written, except possibly "The Patriots of North America,"[116] and a few others apparently written by Dr. Myles Cooper. This publication would probably have been advertised for sale by Rivington on the 27th of April, had not the news of Lexington and Concord reached the city on April 23rd. Then the Liberty Boys virtually overthrew the Royal Government and assumed control of the Colony's administration. Not even the threats of a bombardment of the city by the British warships in the harbor were able to frighten Sears and his determined comrades; while, on the other hand, Mr. Seabury and other boastful Loyalist pamphleteers quickly forgot their "hiccory cudgels" and, for the second time sought safety in flight. Their first flight, so frequently alluded to by local historians, when Seabury, Cooper, Chandler and Wilkins secreted themselves in the recesses of a huge chimney in Wilkins' home on Castle Hill, occurred, evidently, as a result of some Loyalists' letters being intercepted sometime between October, 1774, and March 12, 1775.[117]

Whether "The Republican Dissected" was withdrawn from the printer by Mr. Seabury and destroyed, or assigned to the flames by the Liberty Boys, the writer has not learned definitely; but no further mention or trace of it appears in

[116] Published by Rivington 9 Feb., 1775.

[117] See Robert Bolton, *History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the County of Westchester* (N. Y., 1855), 86-88, note. *Memoir of Bishop Seabury,* 140. Extract of letter from Capt. Jas. Montagu to Admiral Sam'l Graves, 5 May, 1775, in P.R.O. Admiralty Secy. In letters 485, L. C. Transcripts No. 265. Rev. Sam'l Peters' intercepted letters in Conn. Courant, 17 Oct., 1774. Peters to Auchmuty, 25 Feb., 1775, in Peters MSS., N. Y. Hist. Soc. "A Letter to the Rev. Dr. Auchmuty, America: Printed in the year MD, CC, LXXV," dated "New-York, March 12, 1775," and signed "C.J.," in the John Carter Browns Library, Providence, R. I.

Mr. Rivington's *Gazetteer,* among Mr. Seabury's manuscripts, or in his memorial to the Royal Commissioners. Charles Evans, the bibliographer, who attributes its authorship to Isaac Wilkins, makes the following unsupported statement regarding the pamphlet: "This work was advertised in Rivington's New York *Gazetteer,* for April 13, 1775. Isaac Sears, the leader of the Sons of Liberty in New York, exasperated by the tory issues of his press, headed a party which attacked the printing office and destroyed the printed sheets and manuscript of this work, as well as much more of the printer's property. Rivington, himself, was soon after arrested and only released upon making public apology and signing the general association."[118] A contemporary writer says, "No people can be more despised, nor more frightened than those here who have been inimical to their country, particularly the eleven members of the House. Mr. Rivington has made a re-cantation; President Cooper has decamped; and it was with much difficulty the people were prevented from taking the lives of those who they have considered as traitors to their country."[119]

In addition to helping wage a literary war, Mr. Seabury became one of the leaders of his county in opposing the election of Committees and Congressional delegates. He rode day after day through the county gathering the citizens together to protest against and to oppose the measures of Congress. The most important of these meetings was that at White Plains, when in April, 1775, nearly 400 citizens met, protested against the measures being carried out by the American patriots, and pledged their allegiance to the British Government.[120]

When the British Government substituted guns and blood for pens and ink, and the Americans closed Mr. Rivington's press to the Loyalists, Mr. Seabury and all of his literary comrades who were courageous enough to remain in America, found themselves without a job. He retired to his parish and school

[118] *American Bibliography, etc.,* V, 215.
[119] "Letter from a Gentleman Now at New-York," etc., 30 April, 1775, in Peter Force, *American Archives,* 4th Series, II, 448-449.
[120] Scharf, *History of Westchester County,* I, 243-250; Hugh Gaine's *N. Y. Gazette,* 17 April, 1775; Rivington's *Gazetteer,* 20 April, 1775; *Memoir of Bp. Seabury,* 137-138.

duties at Westchester, as soon as he felt such a move safe and expedient; but was too well known to the Sons of Liberty to be permitted to remain long in quiet seclusion. As they passed to and from New York and the New England cities, they would go for miles out of their way, as he said, to harass him.[121]

Finally, on the 22nd of November, 1775, the day before they destroyed Rivington's printing office, Isaac Sears and his troop of Connecticut Horsemen took Mr. Seabury prisoner and sent him to New Haven where he was confined until 23 December. A memorial to the Connecticut Assembly, in which he pleaded "not guilty" to the charges against him; and the inability of his accusers to prove their charges, secured his release. He arrived home 2 January, 1776, to find his private school broken up and the pupils dispersed. For a few weeks, he enjoyed comparative quiet; but as the time grew nearer for New York's first great battle of the war, the Americans apparently became more suspicious of his conduct, and made his home-life so unbearable that in September, 1776, he took refuge behind the British lines on Long Island. For eight weeks, he acted as a guide to the army on the island and in Westchester County, during which time a part of the British army itself consumed, destroyed, and carried away all of his hay, corn, and cattle. In November of the same year, he removed his family to New York City, where it remained throughout the war.[122]

While Mr. Seabury was still helping to fight the King's battles in America, Doctors Cooper and Chandler, who were safe in England, were not unmindful of the merits and the needs of their old comrade. In 1775 or 1776, despite the fact that he was practically unknown in England, they secured for him the chaplaincy of a Man-of-War and a gift of fifty pounds from the fund they had helped to raise for needy clergymen in America; and were certain they could secure an additional fifty pounds.[123] To them he was indebted also for the D.D. degree conferred upon him by Oxford in 1777.

[121] *Memoir of Bishop Seabury*, 140-142. Ernest Hawkins, *Historical Notices of the Missions of the Church of England in the North American Colonies* [London, 1845], 303.

[122] *Memoir*, 142.

[123] *Memoir of Bp. Seabury*, 142-145. Dr. Chandler to Mr. Seabury, 5 March, 1777, in Seabury MSS., East Hampton, L. I.

In June, 1777, he was appointed chaplain of the Provincial Hospital in New York; and, during the same year became the missionary of the S. P. G. on Staten Island with a salary of fifty pounds a year. In 1778, he was made chaplain of the King's American Regiment. With the income from these three positions, added to that secured from his practice of medicine and through the efforts of Doctors Chandler and Cooper, apparently he was able to live comfortably throughout the war.

On the 12th of October, 1780, death claimed his wife and companion, Mary Hicks Seabury, who for just twenty-four years had remained faithful and loyal to him, notwithstanding the long dispute between him and her father. Her passing came too soon for her to share with him the joy over his becoming America's first Protestant Episcopal Bishop.

As soon as it was known that the American Colonies would obtain their independence, the Episcopal clergymen who had remained in America began to take steps to perpetuate their Church under the new government; and, on the 25th of March, 1783, the clergy of Connecticut elected Dr. Seabury to the Episcopate. He set sail for England on June 7th, to seek Episcopal consecration from the Church of England. After waiting in London for more than a year without any indication of success, he turned to the Non-juring Bishops of Scotland. Mr. Hawkins,[124] quotes from the Memoirs of Granville Sharp that, when Dr. Seabury made his final request to be consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the request was taken under consideration, "Dr. Seabury very abruptly left the room, saying, 'If your Grace will not grant me consecration, I know where to obtain it'; and immediately set off for Aberdeen."

He did not set out for Scotland, however, without first having assured himself, through the help of his good friend, Dr. Myles Cooper, that he could secure consecration from the Scottish Prelates.[125] Upon the recommendation of Dr. Cooper

[124] *Missions, etc.*, 404.

[125] See the Seabury-Cooper-Kilgour correspondence in F. L. Hawks and Wm. S. Perry, *Documentary History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U. S. A.*, (N. Y., 1864) Connecticut, II, 241-245.

and the Connecticut clergy,* he was consecrated in old St. Andrew's Church, Aberdeen, 14 November, 1784.

His funds having been well-nigh exhausted by his long stay in London, Dr. Seabury made application, while there, to the Royal Commissioners on Loyalists' Claims for the grant of a pension. The manuscript copy of his Memorial, dated 20 October, 1783, together with the accompanying papers and certificates, is still preserved in the Public Record Office of Great Britain.[126]

The Rev. Jonathan Boucher, while referring to the authorship of the A. W. Farmer pamphlets and to Dr. Seabury's unsuccessful attempt to secure a pension, maliciously slandered one of the warmest and most faithful friends either he or Dr. Seabury ever had. He accused Dr. Myles Cooper of falsely representing himself as the author of these pamphlets and, thereby, securing from the British Government the pension that should have been given to Dr. Seabury. While not calling Dr. Cooper by name, he referred to him as "our late friend of Punnical memory," who could not have been other than Dr. Cooper, since he was the only one of Dr. Seabury's colleagues ever referred to as a punster.[127] It is quite probable that Mr. Boucher's misrepresentation was responsible for the revocation of Dr. Cooper's Royal pension a year after it was granted.[128] This was the thanks Dr. Cooper received for securing Mr. Boucher a Master's degree from King's College and for re-

* The Rev. Samuel Peters, another aspirant to an American Bishopric, accused, what he called the New York Junto, composed of Seabury, Chandler, Inglis, Rev. Jonathan Boucher, and others of forging the names of the Connecticut Clergy to Dr. Seabury's petition for consecration, thus causing the S.P.G. to drop them from its missionary payroll, to protect itself when Dr. Seabury turned to the Jacobite Bishops of Scotland for consecration. See Peters' letter to W. S. Johnson, 12 Feb., 1786, in Johnson MSS., Conn. Hist. Soc.

[126] P.R.O.A.O. 13, Bundle 67.

[127] *Memoir of Bp. Seabury*, 167-169. Jonathan Boucher, *A View of the Causes and Consequences of the American Revolution* (London, 1797), 556, note. Rev. Sam'l Auchmuty to Rev. R. Peters, 2 April, 1772, Peters MSS., VII, 117, Hist. Soc. of Pa., Philadelphia. John Trumbull, *M'Fingal: An Epic Poem* (N. Y., 1881), 76-78.

[128] King's Warrant Book, P.R.O.T. 52/64; Cooper to Royal Commissioners, P.R.O.A.O. 13/64; Boucher to Wm. Eden, 27 June and 4 July, 1776, P.R.O.C.O. 5/154.

signing the curacy of the Paddington Church, London, in the impoverished Boucher's favor in February, 1776.[129]

For several reasons the accusation could hardly have been true. In the first place, Dr. Cooper's merits as a Loyalist and a defender of the Church and the Royal Government were well known in England long before the A. W. Farmer pamphlets were written.[130] Secondly, there appears to be no record, either MS. or printed, in America or Great Britain, indicating that Dr. Cooper in order to win favors for himself, ever referred to any specific thing that he had either written or done. His silence in this matter made him an exception to the other Loyalists. Thirdly, the Rev. John Vardill was in London in 1774 and 1775 working in the interest of Drs. Cooper and Chandler whose Royal Pensions were granted 5 April, 1775, possibly before any, probably before more than one or two, and certainly before all of Mr. Seabury's pamphlets had been seen and read by the King and the Ministers[131]; the first pamphlet having been published 24 Nov., 1774, and the last 19 Jan., 1775, at the time of year when trans-Atlantic mailboats were rare. Fourthly, the records indicate that Mr. Seabury never had a more loyal and faithful friend than was Dr. Cooper, before, during and after the Revolution. Dr. Cooper was instrumental in securing for Mr. Seabury the Parish of Westchester and inducted him into it; he endeavored, unsuccessfully, to have Mr. Seabury take the seemingly more important work on Sir Wm. Johnson's estate; he assisted Dr. Chandler in securing for Mr. Seabury the chaplaincy of a Man-of-War and one or more contributions of fifty pounds each, while Mr. Seabury was a refugee in New York during the war; he witnessed to the truthfulness of Dr. Seabury's Memorial and to the fact that Seabury had written the A. W. Farmer pamphlets; he helped to secure a Doctor's degree for

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[129] *Reminiscences of An American Loyalist* 1738-1789. *Being the Autobiography of the Rev. Jonathan Boucher,* Ed. by Jonathan Boucher (Boston and New York, 1925), pp. 100-3, 144.

[130] Clergy of N. Y. & N. J. to Bp. of London, 12 October, 1771, in Hawks' N. Y. Transcripts, II, 567-570. Colden to Dartmouth, 7 June, 1775, in *Collections of N. Y. Hist. Society* (1876-77), X, 419-426.

[131] See Cooper-Chandler-Vardill Correspondence and Memorials in P.R.O.A.O. 13, Bundles 105 and 108; Public Record Office, London.

Mr. Seabury; and he was the only clergyman from America to recommend Dr. Seabury for Episcopal consecration to the Church of Scotland, and played an important part in negotiating the consecration. Lastly, nothing has been found among Bishop Seabury's manuscripts or correspondence indicating that the Bishop concurred with Mr. Boucher. Dr. Seabury's failure to obtain the reward due him appears to have been the result of a combination of circumstances, largely growing out of his modest disposition, rather than to the artifice of his colleagues.

Having finally succeeded in his long quest for consecration, during which time the S. P. G. continued to pay his salary as missionary to Staten Island,[132] he embarked for New York by way of Halifax, on the ship "Chapman," 15 March, 1785. His plans were changed en route, however, and his ship from Halifax landed at Newport, R. I., 20 June, 1785, where he preached the following Sunday, sailing again on Monday for New London, Conn., in which city he resided during the remainder of his life.

For a detailed account of his work as Bishop of Connecticut and Rhode Island, during the remaining eleven years of his life, the reader is respectfully referred to the biographies of Bishop Seabury by Dr. E. E. Beardsley and Dr. W. J. Seabury. It is sufficient to say that he continued to be the same modest, tireless worker for the Church he loved that he had shown himself to be before the American Rebellion. On the afternoon before his death, 25 February, 1796, he made several visits in his parish at New London, where he was buried on the 28th.

Like many of the leading Loyalists, Mr. Seabury was included in Mr. Trumbull's "M'Fingal," which contains the following reference to him.

> "Have not our Cooper and our Seabury
> Sung Hymns, like Barak and old Deborah;
> Prov'd all intrigues to set you free

[132] S. Seabury's receipt for 25 pounds to S. P. G., 25 June, 1784; Library of Congress Photostats from S. P. G. MSS., N. Y., N. C., & Pa., 1765-1893, Part II.

Rebellion 'gainst the pow'rs that be;
Brought over many a scripture text
That used to wink at rebel sects,
Coax'd wayward ones to favor regents,
Or paraphras'd them to obedience;
Prov'd ev'ry king, ev'n those confest
Horns of th' Apocalyptic beast,
And sprouting from its noddles seven,
Ordain'd as bishops are, by heav'n;
(For reasons sim'lar, as we're told
That Topet was ordain'd of old)
By this lay-ordination valid
Becomes all sanctified and hallow'd,
Takes patent out when heav'n has sign'd it,
And starts up strait, the Lord's anointed?[133]

Rev. Jonathan Boucher, in the same paragraph in which he slandered the name of Dr. Myles Cooper regarding the authorship of the A. W. Farmer pamphlets, paid the following very fitting tribute to Dr. Seabury: "All the return that all his exertions procured for him, was imprisonment, persecution and exile. By this country (Great Britain) he was neglected and abandoned, and by that which gave him birth disowned; though a man of such transcendent abilities as would have been an ornament and a blessing to any country that had seen fit to patronize him."[134] He might have added that, from his youth, like the Apostle Paul, though he often fought with what he considered "the beasts of Ephesus," Bishop Seabury appears to have lived "in all good conscience towards God and man."

CLARENCE H. VANCE.

New York City,
22 January, 1931.

[133] Pages 35-36.
[134] *Memoir of Bp. Seabury*, 167-168.

FREE THOUGHTS,

ON

The PROCEEDINGS of

THE

CONTINENTAL CONGRESS,

Held at PHILADELPHIA Sept. 5, 1774:

WHEREIN

Their ERRORS are exhibited,

THEIR

REASONINGS CONFUTED,

AND

The fatal Tendency of their NON-IMPORTATION, NON-EXPORTATION, and NON-CONSUMPTION MEASURES, are laid open to the plaineſt UNDERSTANDINGS;

AND

The ONLY MEANS pointed out

For Preſerving and Securing

Our preſent HAPPY CONSTITUTION:

IN

A LETTER

TO

THE FARMERS,

AND OTHER INHABITANTS OF

NORTH AMERICA

In General,

And to thoſe of the Province of *New-York*

In Particular.

By a FARMER.

Hear me, for I WILL ſpeak!

PRINTED IN THE YEAR M.DCC.LXXIV.

FREE THOUGHTS,

ON

The PROCEEDINGS of

THE

Congress at Philadelphia, &c.

My Friends and Countrymen,

PERMIT me to address you upon a subject, which, next to your eternal welfare in a future world, demands your most serious and dispassionate consideration. The American Colonies are unhappily involved in a scene of confusion and discord. The bands of civil society are broken; the authority of government weakened, and in some instances taken away: Individuals are deprived of their liberty; their property is frequently invaded by violence, and not a single Magistrate has had courage or virtue enough to interpose. From this distressed situation it was hoped, that the wisdom and prudence of the Congress lately assembled at Philadelphia, would have delivered us. The eyes of all men were turned to them. We ardently expected that some prudent scheme of accommodating our unhappy disputes with the Mother-Country, would have been adopted and pursued. But alas! they are broken up without ever attempting it: they have taken no one step that tended to peace: they have gone on from bad to worse, and have either ignorantly misunderstood, carelessly neglected, or basely betrayed the interests of all the Colonies.

I shall in this, and some future publication, support this charge against the Congress, by incontestible facts: But my first

business shall be to point out to you some of the consequences that will probably follow from the Non-importation, Non-exportation, and Non-consumption Agreements, which they have adopted, and which they have ordered to be enforced in the most arbitrary manner, and under the severest penalties. On this subject, I choose to address myself principally to You the *Farmers* of the Province of New-York, because I am most nearly connected with you, being one of your number, and having no interest in the country but in common with you; and also, because the interest of the farmers in general will be more sensibly affected, and more deeply injured by these agreements, than the interest of any other body of people on the continent. Another reason why I choose to address myself to you is, because the Farmers are of the greatest benefit to the state, of any people in it: They furnish food for the merchant, and mechanic; the raw materials for most manufactures, the staple exports of the country, are the produce of their industry: be then convinced of your own importance, and think and act accordingly.

The Non-importation Agreement adopted by the Congress is to take place the first day of December next; after which no goods, wares, or merchandize, are to be imported from Great-Britain or Ireland; no East-India Tea from any part of the world; no molasses, syrups, paneles, coffee, or pimento, from our islands in the West-Indies; no wine from Madeira, or the Western-Islands; no foreign indigo.

The Non-Exportation Agreement is to take effect on the tenth day of September next; after which we are not to export, directly or indirectly, any merchandize or commodity whatsoever to Great-Britain, Ireland, or the West-Indies, except RICE to Europe,—unless the several acts and parts of acts of the British Parliament, referred to by the fourth article of Association, be repealed.

The Non-consumption Agreement is to be in force the first day of March next; after which we are not to purchase or use any East-India Tea whatsoever; nor any goods, wares, or mer-

chandize from Great-Britain or Ireland, imported after the first of December, nor molasses, &c. from the West-Indies; nor wine from Madeira, or the Western Islands, nor foreign indigo.

Let us now consider the probable consequences of these agreements, supposing they should take place, and be exactly adhered to. The first I shall mention is, clamours, discord, confusion, mobs, riots, insurrections, rebellions, in Great-Britain, Ireland, and the West-Indies. This consequence does not indeed immediately affect You, the Farmers of New-York; nor do I think it a probable one: But the Congress certainly intended it should happen in some degree, or the effect they propose from these agreements cannot possibly take place. They intend to distress the manufacturers in Great-Britain, by depriving them of employment—to distress the inhabitants of Ireland, by depriving them of flax-seed, and of a vent for their linens,—to distress the West-India people, by with-holding provisions and lumber from them, and by stopping the market for their produce. And they hope, by these means, to force them all to join their clamours with ours, to get the acts complained of, repealed. This was the undoubted design of the Congress when these agreements were framed; and this is the avowed design of their warm supporters and partizans, in common conversation.

But where is the justice, where is the policy of this proceedure? The manufacturers of Great-Britain, the inhabitants of Ireland, and of the West-Indies, have done us no injury. They have been no ways instrumental in bringing our distresses upon us. Shall we then revenge ourselves upon them? Shall we endeavour to starve them into a compliance with our humours? Shall we, without any provocation, tempt or force them into riots and insurrections, which must be attended with the ruin of many— probably with the death of some of them? Shall we attempt to unsettle the whole British Government—to throw all into confusion, because our self-will is not complied with? Because the ill-projected, ill-conducted, abominable scheme of some of the colonists, to form a republican government independent of Great-Britain, cannot otherwise succeed?—Good God! can we

look forward to the ruin, destruction, and desolation of the whole British Empire, without one relenting thought? Can we contemplate it with pleasure; and promote it with all our might and vigour, and at the same time call ourselves *his Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects?* Whatever the Gentlemen of the Congress may think of the matter, the spirit that dictated such a measure, was not the spirit of humanity.

Next let us consider the policy, or rather impolicy of this measure. Instead of conciliating, it will alienate the affections of the people of Great-Britain. Of friends it will make them our enemies; it will excite the resentment of the government at home against us; and their resentment will do us no good, but, on the contrary, much harm.

Can we think to threaten, and bully, and frighten the supreme government of the nation into a compliance with our demands? Can we expect to force a submission to our peevish and petulant humours, by exciting clamors and riots in England? We ought to know the temper and spirit, the power and strength of the nation better. A single campaign, should she exert her force, would ruin us effectually. But should she choose less violent means, she has it in her power to humble us without hurting herself. She might raise immense revenues, by laying duties in England, Ireland and the West-Indies, and we could have no remedy left; for this non-importation scheme cannot last forever. She can embarrass our trade in the Mediterranean with Spain, Holland &c. nor can we help ourselves; for whatever regulations she should make, would effectually be enforced, by the same Navy that she keeps in readiness to protect her own trade.

We shall also, probably, raise the resentment of the Irish and West-Indians. The passions of human nature are much the same in all countries. If they find us disposed wantonly to distress them, to serve our own purposes, will they not look out for some method to do without us? Will they not seek else-where for a supply of those articles, which they used to

take from us? They would deserve to be despised for their meanness, did they not.

Holland, the Baltic, and the river St. Lawrence, would afford the Irish a sufficient supply of flax-seed. If they look out in time they cannot be disappointed. Canada produces no inconsiderable quantity already.——

I have been well informed, that many bushels have been bought up there at a low price, brought to New-York, and sold to the Irish factors at a great advance. Are the Irish such novices in navigation, that they cannot find the way to Quebec? Or are they so blind to their own interest, as to continue giving a high price for flax-seed at New-York, when they might have a considerable supply from Canada, at a much more reasonable rate?

You will say that as soon as the Irish send their ships to Quebec for seed, the price will rise till it comes to an equality with ours. I know it. I know also, that the more the price rises, the more Canadians will be encouraged to raise it. I know also, that the more they raise and sell, the less demand there will be for ours, and the less price it will fetch at market.

Nor should we distress the inhabitants of the West-Indies so much as at first sight we may imagine. Those islands produce now many of the necessaries of life. The quantity may easily be encreased. Canada would furnish them with many articles they now take from us; flour, lumber, horses, &c. Georgia, the Floridas, and the Mississippi abound in lumber; Nova Scotia in fish. All these countries would be enriched by our folly, and would laugh at it.

When a trading people carelessly neglect, or wilfully give up any branch of their trade, it is seldom in their power to recover it. Should the Irish turn their trade for flax-seed to Quebec; and the West-Indians get their flour, horses, &c. from thence, or other places; the loss to the farmers of this province would be

immense. The last non-importation scheme turned the Indian trade from New-York down the river St. Lawrence; we are now repeating, with regard to our flour and flax-seed, the same blunder we then committed with regard to the Indian trade. The consequence, however, will be much worse. The loss of the Indian trade, was a loss to the merchants only; but the loss of the flax-seed trade, will be a loss to every farmer in the province; and a loss which he will severely feel.

You know, my Friends, that the sale of your seed not only pays your taxes, but furnishes you with many of the little conveniencies, and comforts of life; the loss of it for one year would be of more damage to you, than paying the three-penny duty on tea for twenty. Let us compare matters a little. It was inconvenient for me this year to sow more than one bushel of seed. I have threshed and cleaned up eleven bushels. The common price now is at least ten shillings;* my seed then will fetch me five pounds, ten shillings. But I will throw in the ten shillings for expences. There remain five pounds: in five pounds are four hundred three-pences; four hundred three-pences currency, will pay the duty upon two hundred pounds of tea, even reckoning the exchange with London at 200 per cent. that is, reckoning 100l. sterling, to be equal to 200l. currency; whereas in fact it is only equal to 175 or 180l. at the most. I use in my family about six pounds of tea: few farmers in my neighbourhood use so much; but I hate to stint my wife and daughters, or my friendly neighbours when they come to see me. Besides, I like a dish of tea too, especially after a little more than ordinary fatigue in hot weather. Now 200 pounds of tea, at six pounds a year, will last just 33 years, and eight months. So that in order to pay this monstrous duty upon tea, which has raised all this confounded combustion in the country, I have only to sell the produce of a bushel of flax-seed once in THIRTY-THREE years. Ridiculous!

But, to leave jesting. The loss of the sale of your seed only for one year, would be a considerable damage to you. And yet

* Since this piece was written, the price of flax-seed is risen to thirteen shillings per bushel.

the Congress have been so inattentive to your interests, that they have laid you under, almost, an absolute necessity of losing it the next year. They have decreed, and proclaimed a non-exportation, to commence in September next. The Irish will be alarmed. They will look out somewhere else. Or should they determine to send their ships the earlier, we cannot, without the utmost inconvenience, get our seed to market by that time; especially, not from the remoter parts of the province. The consequence will be, that we must sell our seed at the oil-mills in New-York, just at the price the manufacturers shall please to give us.

Upon the whole then, it is highly improbable that we shall succeed in distressing the people of Great Britain, Ireland, and the West-Indies, so far as to oblige them to join with us in getting the acts of Parliament which we complain of, repealed. The first distress will fall on ourselves: it will be more severely felt by us, than by any part of all his Majesty's dominions; and it will affect us the longest. The fleets of Great-Britain command respect throughout the globe. Her influence extends to every part of the earth. Her manufactures are equal to any, superior to most in the world. Her wealth is great. Her people enterprizing, and persevering in their attempts to extend and enlarge and protect her trade. The total loss of our trade would be felt only for a time. Her merchants would turn their attention another way. New sources of trade and wealth would be opened: New schemes pursued. She would soon find a vent for all her manufactures in spite of all we could do. Our malice would hurt ourselves only. Should our schemes distress some branches of her trade, it could be only for a time; and there is ability and humanity enough in the nation to relieve those that are distressed by us, and to put them in some other way of getting their living.

The case is very different with *us*. We have no trade but under the protection of Great-Britain. We can trade no where but where she pleases. We have no influence abroad, no ambassadors, no consuls, no fleet to protect our ships in

passing the seas, nor our merchants and people in foreign countries. Should our mad schemes take place, our sailors, ship-carpenters, carmen, sail-makers, riggers, miners, smelters, forge-men, and workers in bar-iron, &c. would be immediately out of employ; and we should have twenty mobs and riots in our own country, before one would happen in Britain or Ireland. Want of food will make these people mad, and they will come in troops upon our farms, and take that by force which they have not money to purchase. And who could blame them? Justice, indeed, might hang them; but the sympathetic eye would drop the tear of humanity on their grave.

The next thing I shall take notice of, is the advanced prices of goods, which will, not only probably, but necessarily, follow, as soon as the non-importation from Great Britain, &c. shall take effect. This is a consequence that most nearly concerns you; nor can you prevent it. You are obliged to buy many articles of clothing. You cannot make them yourselves; or you cannot make them so cheap as you can buy them. You want Woollens for your winter clothing. Few of you have wool enough to answer the purpose. For notwithstanding the boasts of some ignorant, hot-headed men, there is not wool enough on the continent, taking all the colonies together, to supply the inhabitants with stockings. Notwithstanding all the home-spun you can make, many of you find it difficult, at the year's end, to pay the shop-keeper for what the necessities of your families have obliged you to take up. What will you do when the prices of goods are advanced a quarter, for instance, or an half? To say that the prices of goods will not be raised, betrays your ignorance and folly. The price of any commodity always rises in proportion to the demand for it; and the demand always increases in proportion to its scarcity. As soon as the importation ceases in New-York, the quantity of goods will be daily lessened, by daily consumption; and the prices will gradually rise in proportion. "But the merchants of New-York have declared that, they will demand only a reasonable profit." Who is to judge what a reasonable profit is? Why, the merchants. Will they expose their invoices,

and the secrets of their trade to you, that you may judge whether their profits are reasonable or not? Certainly they will not. and if they did, you cannot understand them; and, consequently, can form no judgment about them. You have therefore nothing to trust to in this case but the honour of the merchants. Let us then consider how far we have reason to trust to their honour.

Not to raise the price of a commodity when it is scarce, and in demand, is contrary to the principles and practice of merchants. Their maxim is, to buy as cheap, and sell as dear, as they can. Will they let you have a piece of goods for twenty shillings, which will fetch twenty-five? When the stores and shops are full, and a price is demanded which you think unreasonable, you will ask an abatement. If you are refused, you will look elsewhere. But when there are few goods and many buyers, no abatement can be expected. If you won't give the price, your neighbour perhaps is in greater necessity, and *must* give it. Besides, the merchant knows that no more goods can be imported. He knows that the necessities of the country are increasing, and that what you refuse now at twenty shillings, you will be obliged to take, by and by, at twenty-five.

But no argument is like matter of fact. You have had one trial of a non-importation agreement some years ago. Pray how did you like it? Were the prices of goods raised on you then? You know they were. What remedy had you? A good Christian remedy indeed, but a hard one---patience---and patience only: The honour of the merchants gave you no relief---confound their honour---it obliged me---it obliged many of you, to take old moth-eaten cloths that had lain rotting in the shops for years, and to pay a monstrous price for them.

Some, indeed, I confess it with gratitude, had honour enough to attempt to regulate the price of Tea, at that time. Did they succeed? No. There was not honour enough in the body of merchants to bring it to effect. Messrs.

declared at the Coffee-House,

that they would be bound by no regulations. They would have their own price for their tea. They had it. And common bohea tea was sold at the enormous price of nine shillings the pound. Will you again trust to the honour of these men? You had better trust to the mercy of a Turk.

Indulge me in a few sentences more upon this same subject of Tea. It is well known that little or no tea has been entered at the Custom-House for several years. All that is imported is smuggled from Holland, and the Dutch Island in the West-Indies. In this trade the laws of our country are trampled upon. The nation is defrauded of its revenues. The sacredness of an oath, the grand security of the liberty, and property, and lives of Englishmen, is prostituted to the vile purposes of private gain. Perjury, and false-swearing are encouraged by those very merchants, to whose honour we are now to trust, that they will not demand an unreasonable profit on their goods.

Let the guilty alone take this to themselves. I mean no reflections on the fair-trader. But never will I believe that the man who can cooly and deliberately encourage perjury or false-swearing---who can calmly lay schemes, and repeatedly execute them, in order to defraud his country of her revenues, would ever hesitate one moment, whether he should not prostitute his honour, and cheat me too, could he do it with equal security.

The poor culprit, who, perhaps forced by necessity, turns informer, is branded with ignominy——is treated as an out-cast from society: But the lordly merchant, who, wallowing in wealth, can plead no necessity, tramples on the most sacred obligations, and yet holds up his head, and boasts himself a man of honour. O Shame! Shame! Shame!

I know not how it happens, but not only the merchants, but the generality of citizens, treat us *countrymen* with very undeserved contempt. They act as though they thought, that all wisdom, all knowledge, all understanding and sense, centered in

themselves, and that we farmers were utterly ignorant of every thing, but just to drive our oxen, and to follow the plough. We are never consulted, but when they cannot do without us. And then, all the plans are laid in the City before they are offered to us. Be the potion they prepare for us ever so nauseous, we must swallow it down, as well as we can. It is not many years since the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty of the city, shewed their contempt of us, in the most insulting manner. They passed a law to regulate the prices of our produce; and instead of protecting us in their markets, we were exposed to continual abuse and insults. We could not carry a quart of milk, a duck, a chicken,---I think not an egg,---I am sure not a quail or *snipe,* to market, in peace. If they were scarce, we durst not ask an advanced price; for if we did, a fine---or imprisonment, was our portion.——Did they also fix the price of *shop-goods?* catch them at that, and I will humbly ask their pardon.——Where was honour at this time? Troth I cannot tell: But were it necessary, I could easily tell you where she was *not.*

I may perhaps at another time, tell you a little more of my mind upon this matter: At present let us attend to another circumstance, which I think renders the honour of the New-York merchants a little suspicious; and convinces me, that we have no sufficient ground to trust to it. Common sense cannot utterly have quitted the city. There must be some merchants who are sensible of the evil tendency of this Non-consumption, Non-importation and Non-exportation agreement. But where is the man who has had honour enough to avow his sentiments and oppose it? Shew him to me, and I will reverence him as "The noblest work of God." Six honest merchants, who had honour, virtue, and courage enough, openly to avow their sentiments, and act accordingly, would yet save you, and their country, from ruin.

But the conduct of the merchants presents a very different prospect. Whatever their particular sentiments may be, they all appear to acquiesce in this fatal determination of our de-

luded Congress. They seem to have expected it; for it is said, that they have imported much more largely than usual: This makes me suspect, that this bustle about Non-importation, &c, has its rise, not from Patriotism, but selfishness. I have heard that merchants sometimes make an artificial scarcity, by engrossing particular commodities in a few hands, that they may avail themselves of the necessity of the buyer, and get a good price. We Countrymen are in this situation. No more goods can be imported: the merchants have us at their mercy: let them set their price ever so high, necessity will oblige us to come to their terms.

Consider the matter in another light, and still it will appear, that this Non-importation scheme will and must raise the prices of goods; not only now, but probably for some years to come.

There are in New York many merchants with large capitals, and of very extensive credit: these probably have laid in a large supply of goods, enough to last as long as the Non-importation continues. At least, when their stores are like to become empty, they will have weight enough to break up the agreement. There are many other merchants whose capitals are small, and their credit confined: these probably can have laid in no great stock. If the Non-importation agreement continues any length of time, the wealthy merchant will grow enormously rich, the merchant with a small capital will probably fail. For consider---the small merchant must sell his goods as soon as possible, that he may support his family, and his credit by making timely remittances. The wealthy merchant can wait till the small stores are exhausted, and then he may command a double profit: in the meantime the inferior merchant is out of business: his goods are all sold, and sold at a small profit: he cannot import: he must live on his small capital. As soon as the wealthy merchant finds his store near empty, he will have influence enough to break the agreement; and money and credit enough to import largely again: but the inferior merchant is ruined: he has lived on his capital: it is gone: if he is not in *debt,* he has nothing to begin trade with; and he must become a clerk to his wealthy neighbour.

These inferior merchants are of great consequence to the community: they keep down the price of goods, and prevent its becoming excessive: they must make quick sales that they may make their remittances in due season. They must therefore take what their goods will fetch: But the wealthy merchant can wait for a better price, without hurting his estate or credit; or else he must be content with the same advance with the merchant of small capital.

Another argument to prove that the prices of goods will increase is, that they are already increased, even before the fatal day fixed for the commencement of the Non-importation Agreement. Several persons, whom I take to be good judges, have assured me, that the prices of woollens, linens, &c. are very perceptibly increased in the shops in New York. And I was told, by a very credible man from New-York, that the price of gun-powder was raised from 9 to 10l. to 17 to 18l. per hundred. I know you'll stare, and wish to know what could so enormously advance the article of Gun-powder: I'll tell you; It was the great and sudden demand for it, when the Putmans and Co. of New-England, were in such a violent hurry to divert themselves with fighting the King's troops: and should these heroes take it into their heads to divert themselves with push-pin, I suppose the price of *pins* would rise in the same proportion.

I come now to the consideration of another probable consequence of a Non-importation agreement, which is, That it will excite the resentment of the government at home against us, and induce the Parliament to block up our ports and prevent our trade intirely. It would certainly be good policy in the government to do so. Few Colonies are settled but by a trading people, and by them chiefly for the benefit of trade. The grand design of England in settling the American Colonies, was to extend her trade--- to open a new vent for her manufactures. If then we stop our imports, the benefit of our trade is in a manner lost to her, and she would find but little additional disadvantage, should she stop our trade with all the world.

But should the government pursue milder measures---though we indeed have no right to expect it will---yet the Congress have determined the expediency of our stopping our own trade, after a limited time, viz. ten months. In either case the consequence will be much the same; and it matters but little whether the government blocks up our ports, or whether we ourselves voluntarily put an end to our exports, as well as imports; after the 10th of September next we are to have but little trade except with our neighbouring colonies.

Consider the consequence, Should the government interpose, we shall have no trade at all, and consequently no vent for the produce of our farms. Such part of our wheat, flax-seed, corn, beef, pork, butter, cheese, as was not consumed in the province, must be left to rot and stink upon our hands.

Should the government leave us to ourselves, the little trade that would be open, would never keep these articles at such a price, as to make it worth while to raise more of them than we want for our own consumption.

Look well to yourselves, I beseech you. From the day that the exports from this province are stopped, the farmers may date the commencement of their ruin. Can you live without money? Will the shop-keeper *give* you his goods? Will the weaver, shoemaker, blacksmith, carpenter, work for you without pay? If they will, it is more than they will do for me. And unless you can sell your produce, how are you to get money? Nor will the case be better, if you are obliged to sell your produce at an under-rate; for then it will not pay you for the labour and expence of raising it. But this is the least part of the distress that will come upon you.

Unhappily, many of you are in debt, and obliged to pay the enormous interest of seven pounds on the hundred, for considerable sums. It matters not whether your debts have been contracted through necessity, or carelessness: You must pay them, at *least* the interest, punctually; the usurer will not

wait long; indeed you cannot expect he should: You have had his money, and are obliged, in justice, to pay him the principal and interest, according to agreement. But without selling your produce, you can neither pay the one, nor the other; the consequence will be that after a while, a process of law will be commenced against you, and your farms must be sold by execution; and then you will have to pay not only principal and interest, but Sheriffs fees, Lawyers fees, and a long list of *et cæteras.*

Nor, under these circumstances, will your farms fetch half what they cost you. What is a farm good for, the produce of which cannot be sold? Had matters continued in their old course, some one of your neighbours, who knew the value of your farm, might have been willing and able to have given you a reasonable price for it, had you been disposed, or obliged to sell; but he has more wit than to buy a farm, when he cannot sell its produce. Your creditor then, or some rich merchant, or usurer, must take it at their own price: To you it is of no consequence who takes it; for you are ruined, stripped of your farm, and very probably of the means of subsistance for yourself and family. Glorious effect of Non-exportation! Think a little, and then tell me---when the Congress adopted this cursed scheme, did they in the least consider your interest? No, impossible! they ignorantly misunderstood, carelessly neglected, or basely betrayed you.

But, it is said, that all legal processes are to be stopped, except in criminal cases.—That is to say---the lower class of people are to be deprived of their daily bread, by being thrown out of employment by the Non-Exportation agreement; to prevent starving, many of them will be tempted to steal; if they steal, they are to be hanged. The dishonest fellow, who owes money, may, by refusing payment, ruin his creditor; but there is no remedy, no process is to be issued against him. This may be justice, but it looks so much like cruelty, that a man of a humane heart would be more apt to call it by the latter, than the former name.

But pray, by whose authority are the courts of Justice to be shut up, in all civil cases?---Who shall DARE to stop the Courts of Justice?---A very pretty story indeed! I buy a cow of my poor neighbour, and I promise to pay him at Christmas: he wants the money to pay his shoe-maker, taylor, &c. my rascally neighbour, on the other side, owes me ten pounds; I depend upon this money to pay for the cow: he refuses payment: the Courts of Justice are shut up: I cannot sue him, nor can I pay my debt for want of the money.

My neighbour Dick Stubbs has a farm which he rents to Peter Doubtful for 20l. a year. Dick is an honest, good sort of a man, but rather negligent, and depends upon this 20l. to enable him to make both ends of the year meet, as we say. There is one Tim Twistwell, a Rascal from New-England, who lays claim to Stubbs's farm, tho' he has no more right to it than the Pope of Rome. He knows his right is good for nothing, and has never dared to prosecute it, though he has money enough, and has been *harping* upon it these seven years. But he has lately made several attempts to corrupt Doubtful the tenant. Should he succeed, and get possession of the farm, how is Stubbs to recover his right, when the courts of justice are shut up? You may say that he must wait till the courts are opened, and then he may prosecute his claim. It may be so. But remember, that the same violence which now shuts the courts of justice, may keep them shut, till poor Stubbs is absolutely ruined.

Rouse, my friends, rouse from your stupid lethargy. Mark the men who shall dare to impede the course of justice. Brand them as the infamous betrayers of the rights of their country. The grand security of the property, the liberty, the lives of Englishmen, consists in the due administration of justice. While the courts are duly attended to, and fairly conducted, our property is safe. As soon as they are shut, every thing is precarious: for neither property, nor liberty, have any foundation to stand upon.

Tell me not of Delegates, Congresses, Committees, Riots, Mobs, Insurrections, Associations,—a plague on them all.—Give me the steady, uniform, unbiassed influence of the Courts of Justice. I have been happy under their protection, and I trust in God, I shall be so again.

But after all, some of you, I fear, look forward with pleasure to those halcyon days of security, when the Courts shall be shut. Undisturbed by the clamours of creditors, undismayed by the sight of the Sheriff, you think to pass your lives in quietness and peace.—But ah! my friends! trust not the fatal, the ill-judged security. You would not, I hope, be so dishonest as not to do your utmost endeavor to pay your debts; besides, while the Courts of Justice are shut, you will be apt to be careless. You will neglect paying your interest, your debts will accumulate, your creditors will be irritated; and as soon as a legal process can be commenced, you will be ruined before you can look about you.

Some of you are indebted to the loan-office. You have your money, it is true, at a low rate: You pay only five *per centum:* But if you cannot sell your produce, you can no more pay five *per cent.* than seven. The shutting up of the Courts of Justice can here give you no relief. By virtue of the act which regulates the Loan-Office, your farms, if you fail to pay the interest, will be sold in a limited time, without any judicial process at all.

Some of you, also, are tenants at will; and if you fail in paying your rents, you may be turned off, with little or no warning.

Consider now the situation you will be in, if Great-Britain, provoked by your Non-Importation Agreement, should shut up our ports; or should the Non-Exportation agreed to by the Congress, take effect. In that case you will not be able to sell your produce: you cannot pay even the interest of the money you are indebted for: your farms must be sold, and

you and your families turned out, to beggary and wretchedness.—Blessed fruits of Non-Importation and Non-Exportation! The farmer that is in debt, will be ruined: the farmer that is clear in the world, will be obliged to run in debt, to support his family: and while the proud merchant, and the forsworn smuggler, riot in their ill-gotten wealth; the laborious farmers, the grand support of every well-regulated country, must all go to the dogs together.—Vile! Shamefull! Diabolical Device!

Let us now attend a little to the Non-Consumption Agreement, which the Congress, in their Association, have imposed upon us. After the first of March we are not to purchase or use any East-India Tea whatsoever; nor any goods, wares, or merchandize from Great-Britain or Ireland, imported after the first day of December next: nor any molasses, syrups, &c. from the British plantations in the West-Indies, or from Dominica; nor wine from Madeira, or the Western Islands; nor foreign indigo.

Will you submit to this slavish regulation?----You must.---- Our sovereign Lords and Masters, the High and Mighty Delegates, in Grand Continental Congress assembled, have ordered and directed it. They have directed the Committees in the respective colonies, to establish such further regulations as they may think proper, for carrying their association, of which this Non-consumption agreement is a part, into execution. Mr. **** *** of New-York, under the authority of their High-Mightinesses, the Delegates, by, and with the advice of his Privy Council, the Committee of New-York, hath issued his mandate, bearing date Nov. 7, 1774, recommending it to the freeholders and freemen of New-York, to assemble on the 18th of November, to choose eight persons out of every ward, to be a Committee, to carry the Association of the Congress into execution.——The business of the Committee so chosen is to be, to inspect the conduct of the inhabitants, and see whether they violate the Association.——Among other things, Whether they drink any Tea or wine in their families, after the first of

March; or wear any British or Irish manufactures; or use any English molasses, &c. imported after the first day of December next. If they do, their names are to be published in the Gazette, that they may be *publickly known, and universally contemned,* as *foes to the Rights of British America,* and *enemies of American Liberty.*--And then *the parties of the said Association will respectively break off all dealings with him or her.*---In plain English,---They shall be considered as Out-laws, unworthy of the protection of civil society, and delivered over to the vengeance of a lawless, outrageous mob, to be *tarred, feathered, hanged, drawn, quartered, and burnt.*---O rare American Freedom!

Probably, as soon as this point is settled in New-York, the said Mr. **** *** in the plenitude of his power, by, and with the advice of his Privy Council aforesaid, will issue his Mandate to the supervisors in the several counties, as he did about the choice of Delegates, and direct them to have Committees chosen in their respective districts, for the same laudable purpose.

Will you be instrumental in bringing the most abject slavery on yourselves? Will you choose such Committees? Will you submit to them, should they be chosen by the weak, foolish, turbulent part of the country people?---Do as you please: but, by HIM that made me, I will not.---No, if I must be enslaved, let it be by a KING at least, and not by a parcel of upstart lawless Committee-men. If I must be devoured, let me be devoured by the jaws of a lion, and not *gnawed* to death by rats and vermin.

Did you choose your supervisors for the purpose of inslaving you? What right have they to fix up advertisements to call you together, for a very different purpose from that for which they were elected? Are our supervisors our masters?---And should half a dozen foolish people meet together again, in consequence of their advertisements, and choose themselves to be a Committee, as they did in many districts, in the affair of choosing Delegates, are we obliged to submit to such a Committee?

---You ought, my friends, to assert your own freedom. Should such another attempt be made upon you, assemble yourselves together: tell your supervisor, that he has exceeded his commission:---That you will have no such Committees:---That you are Englishmen, and will maintain your rights and privileges, and will eat, and drink, and wear, whatever the public laws of your country permit, without asking leave of any illegal, tyrannical Congress or Committee on earth.

But however, as I said before, do as you please: If you like it better, choose your Committee, or suffer it to be chosen by half a dozen Fools in your neighbourhood,---open your doors to them,---let them examine your tea-cannisters, and molasses-jugs, and your wives and daughters petty-coats,---bow, and cringe, and tremble, and quake,---fall down and worship our sovereign Lord the Mob.---But I repeat it, By H----n, I will not.---No, my house is my castle: as such I will consider it, as such I will defend it, while I have breath. No *King's* officer shall enter it without my permission, unless supported by a warrant from a magistrate.---And shall my house be entered, and my mode of living enquired into, by a domineering Committee-man? Before *I* submit, I will die: live *you,* and be slaves.

Do, I say, as you please: but should any pragmatical Committee-gentleman come to my house, and give himself airs, I shall shew him the door, and if he does not soon take himself away, a good hiccory cudgel shall teach him better manners.

There is one article more of the Association, which exhibits such a striking instance of the ignorance, or inattention of the Congress to the Farmers interest, that I must take notice of it to you; especially as it will give me an opportunity of mentioning as striking an instance of the arbitrary, illegal, and tyrannical procedure of the Committee of Correspondence in New-York.

The article I mean, is the seventh, relative to the encreasing of the number and improving of the breed of sheep. No sheep

of any kind are to be exported to the West-Indies, or elsewhere. Why, for Gods sake, were *weathers* included in this prohibition? Will weathers encrease the number, or improve the breed of sheep? I with the Gentlemen of the Congress, and the Committee-men of New-York, would try the experiment. Let them buy a score of weathers, and feed, and nurse them for a twelve-month; and then publish an account of the number of lambs they have produced, their enormous size, with the quantity & fineness of their wool; that we may know in what manner the number and breed of sheep may be encreased, and improved, by keeping weathers. But let this account be under oath, or I shall not believe that they have succeeded, either in encreasing the number, or improving the breed. I solemnly declare I never had one lamb produced from a weather in my whole life; and have always been so ignorant, that I should no more expect a lamb from a weather, than a calf from an ox.

But it may be said, that weathers will produce wool, and that it is for the sake of the wool that their exportation is prevented. I readily own that weathers will produce wool, though not lambs. But let me ask you, my brother farmers, which of you would keep a flock of sheep barely for the sake of their wool? Not one of you. If you cannot sell your sheep to advantage at a certain age, you cannot keep them to any profit. An Ewe should not be kept after she is six years old, nor a weather after he is four: few of you choose to keep them so long. What now must be done with our sheep when they become so old that we can keep them no longer with advantage? We are ordered *to kill them sparingly:* a queer phrase; however, let it pass. If it is not *classical,* it is *congressional*; and that's enough. And after having killed them *sparingly,* if we have any to *spare,* we must *spare* them to our poor neighbours. But supposing that after *killing them sparingly, and sparing* as many to my poor neighbours as they want, I should, by reason of *killing them sparingly,* have still more to *spare*--what shall I do with them? Exported they must not be. Why! fat them well, and sell them to the New-Yorkers: The deuce take them for a set of gundy gutted fellows---will they let us export nothing? Do they intend

to eat all our wheat, and rye, and corn, and beef, and pork, and mutton, and butter, and cheese, and turkeys, and geese, and ducks, and fowls, and chickens and eggs, &c? the devil is in't if their bellies are not filled. And yet see their ill-nature and malice against us farmers.---After having furnished them with all this good cheer, which they must have at their own price too, they will not in return let us have a dish of tea to please our wives, nor a glass of Madeira to cheer our spirits, nor even a spoonful of Molasses to sweeten our butter-milk. To be serious---

Had the Congress attended in the least to the farmers interest, they never would have prohibited the exportation of sheep, after they came to a certain age. It is the exportation that keeps up the price of sheep; it is the advantageous price that encourages the farmer to feed them: Take away the profit of selling them, and the farmer will keep but very few. For they are not, and I am confident never will be in this country, worth keeping for their wool alone.

However, right or wrong, the Congress have passed the decree. *Thou shalt not export sheep,* was pronounced at Philadelphia; and, right or wrong, the Committee of New-York are determined to put it in execution: And *thou shalt not export sheep,* is echoed back from New-York.

How this decree is to be supported in New-York, may be learned from the following affair. A Gentleman, an officer in the King's service, had purchased a number of sheep to carry with him to St. Vincent's: Mr. GAINE's news-paper says eighteen. The New-Yorkers, probably affraid that they should loose their share of the mutton, assembled on the dock, sent for the Committee, and in open violation of the laws of their country, obliged the merchant to whom the vessel had been consigned, to have the sheep landed; the sheep were committed to safe durance till the vessel sailed, and then were delivered to the proprietor--I suppose to the person who had sold them to the officer: Though how he could be the proprietor after he had

sold them, I cannot see. Had I been the person, I would have had nothing to do with them; the Committee might have done what they pleased with them---*killed them sparingly,* or *spared* them to their poor neighbours. But had there been law or justice in the government, I would have been paid for them: though, now I think of it, I would have made a present of them to the Committee, upon condition that they should make the experiment how far the number and breed of sheep can be increased and improved by keeping weathers; for I have been positively assured, that these same sheep, which made all this bustle, were nothing more.

Here now, my friends, is a flagrant instance of injustice and cruelty committed by a riotous mob;--- for a number of people, be they Committee-men, or who you please, assembled to do an unlawful action, especially in the night, deserve no better name, —against both the buyer and seller of the sheep, in open violation of the laws of the government in which we live, and of the rights of the city in which it was perpetrated; and not a single magistrate had virtue or courage enough to interpose. O shame to humanity! Hold up your heads, ye Committee-men of New-York! Deny the charge if ye can. But remember, the instant ye deny it, ye forfeit all pretensions to truth or conscience.

Think me not too severe. Anarchy and Confusion, Violence and Oppression, distress my country; and I must, and *will* speak. Though the open violator of the laws may escape punishment, through the pusillanimity of the magistrates, he shall feel the lash of my pen: and he shall feel it again and again, till remorse shall sting his guilty conscience, and shame cover his opprobrious head.

But perhaps you will say, that these men are contending for our rights; that they are defending our liberties; and though they act against law, yet that the necessity of the times will justify them. Let me see. I sell a number of sheep. I drive them to New-York, and deliver them to the purchaser. A mob interposes, and obliges me to take my sheep again, and drive

them home for my pains, or sell them there for just what they please to give me. Are these the rights, is this the liberty, these men are contending for? It is vile, abject slavery, and I will have none of it. These men defend our rights, and liberties, who act in open defiance of the laws? No. They are making us the most abject slaves that ever existed. The necessity of the times justify them in violating the first principles of civil society! Who induced this necessity? Who involved the province in discord, anarchy and confusion? These very men. They created that necessity, which they now plead in their own justification.

Let me intreat you, my Friends, to have nothing to do with these men, or with any of the same stamp. Peace and quietness suit *you* best. Confusion, and Discord, and Violence, and War, are sure destruction to the *farmer*. Without peace he cannot till his lands; unless protected by the laws, he cannot carry his produce to market. Peace indeed is departed from us for the present, and the protection of the laws has ceased. But I trust in God, there is yet one method left, which, by prudent management, will free us from all our difficulties; restore peace again to our dwellings, and give us the firm security of the laws for our protection. Renounce all dependence on Congresses, and Committees. They have neglected, or betrayed your interests. Turn then your eyes to your *constitutional* representatives. They are the true, and legal, and have been hitherto, the faithful defenders of your rights, and liberties; and you have no reason to think but that they will ever be so. They will probably soon meet in General Assembly. Address yourselves to them. They are the proper persons to obtain redress of any grievances that you can justly complain of. You can trust their wisdom and prudence, that they will use the most reasonable, constitutional, and effectual methods of restoring that peace and harmony, between Great Britain and this province, which is so earnestly wished for by all good men, and which is so absolutely necessary for the happiness of us all. Present a petition to them, intreating them to take the matter into their own hands, and to labour earnestly to accomplish so blessed a purpose. But beware of giving them any directions *how* to proceed. As soon as ever

you attempt to *instruct* them, you lay yourselves open to be duped and fooled by designing men, in the drawing of your instructions. Some will instruct them to do one thing, and some another, and you will embarrass, but not help forward their deliberations.

Your REPRESENTATIVES know perfectly the state of the unhappy breach between our mother country and us. They want no information in this point. The more you trust them at this time, the more you will put it in their power to serve you; and the greater obligation you will lay them under to serve you *faithfully,* and *effectually.* Only beseech them to heal this unnatural breach; to settle this destructive contention; that peace and quietness, and the firm protection of law, and good government, may again be our happy lot. Would the several counties, or towns in the province, conduct themselves in this manner, God, I am confident, would bless, and give a prosperous issue to so good a work.

And whatever you may be taught by designing men, to think of the government at home, they, I am certain, would embrace us with the arms of friendship; they would press us to their bosoms, to their hearts, would we give them a fair opportunity. This opportunity our *Assembly* alone can give them. And this opportunity, I trust, they will give them, unless we prevent all possibility of accommodation, by our own perverseness, and ill conduct. And then, God only knows where our distresses may terminate.

November 16, 1774.

A. W. FARMER.

POSTSCRIPT.

Much stress has been laid, it seems, upon the *unanimity* of the Delegates, and it has been urged, that *all the inhabitants of the continent* should think themselves in *honour* obliged to abide *passively* by their decisions, be they what they *may,* as they were

their Representatives.---But I would just observe, that not *one person* in *an hundred* (to speak much within bounds) throughout *this* province at least, gave his vote for their *election:* and as to the *unanimity* which was supposed to prevail amongst them, it is now pretty generally understood, and it is an undoubted fact, that not only *most* or *all* of the *New-York* members, but many others, of the most *respectable characters* amongst them, warmly opposed their conduct in a MULTITUDE of instances; though they had unhappily agreed, before their entrance upon business, that neither *protest* nor *dissent* should appear upon their *minutes.* The *arts* and *stratagems* used on *this* and some *other* occasions, during the session of the Congress, together with the *caballing out* of doors, and the UNFAIR DEALINGS *within,* will fill up more pages, than are comprehended in the *present* Letter to my *Fellow-Farmers.*

F I N I S.

THE CONGRESS CANVASSED:

OR,

An EXAMINATION INTO The Conduct of the Delegates,

AT THEIR

GRAND CONVENTION,

Held in PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 1, 177[illegible].

ADDRESSED,

To the MERCHANTS of *New-York.*

By *A. W.* FARMER.
Author of Free Thoughts, *&c.*

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*Hæc, per Deos immortales, utrum esse vobis consilia sicc*orum, *an vinolentorum somnia: Et utrum cogitata sapientum, an operata furiosorum, videntur ?* Cicer. contra Rullum.

Do you look upon these Proceedings as the Counsels of Sobriety, or the Dreams of Inebriation ? Do they seem to you the Deliberations of Wisdom, or the Ravings of Phrenzy ?

PRINTED IN THE YEAR M,DCC,LXXIV.

THE

CONGRESS

CANVASSED:

OR,

AN EXAMINATION

INTO

The CONDUCT of the DELEGATES, &c.

ADDRESSED

TO THE MERCHANTS OF NEW YORK

Gentlemen,

I SHALL make no apology for addressing myself to you, the Merchants of the city of New-York, upon the present unhappy and distressed state of our country. My subject will necessarily lead me to make some remarks on your past and present conduct, in this unnatural contention between our parent country and us. I am duly sensible of what importance you are to the community, and of the weight and influence you must have in the conduct of all our public affairs: I know that the characters of many of you are truly respectable, and I shall endeavour to express what I have to say to you, consistently with that decency and good manners which are due, not only to you, but to all mankind.

But you must not expect any undue complaisance from *me*.—You must be content with plain English, from a plain countryman; I must have the privilege of calling a fig,—a Fig; an egg,—an Egg. If, upon examination, your conduct shall, in any instances, appear to be weak, you must bear to be told

of it:—if wrong, to be censured:—if selfish, to be exposed:—if ridiculous, to be laughed at:—Do not be offended if I omit to say, that if your conduct shall appear to be honourable, that it shall be commended. Honourable and virtuous actions want no commendation,---they speak for themselves: They affect not praise, but are rather disgusted with it,---instead of heightening, it tarnishes their lustre. If you have acted from honourable motives, from disinterested principles, from true patriotism,---if justice and prudence, and a love of your country have been the guides of your conduct, you need fear no attack, nor the strictest scrutiny of your actions.

Nor, upon the other hand, ought you to be displeased with the man, who shall point out your errors, supposing you have acted wrong. To err is common,---I wish it was uncommon to persist in error. But such is the pride of the human heart, that when we have once taken a wrong step, we think it an impeachment of our wisdom and prudence to retreat. A kind of sullen, sulky obstinacy takes possession of us; and though in the hour of calm reflection, our hearts should condemn us, we had rather run the risk of being condemned by the world too, than own the possibility of our having been mistaken. Preposterous pride! It defeats the end it aims at: It degrades instead of exalting our characters, and destroys that reputation which it seems so solicitous to establish. To become sensible of our errors, and to mend them,---to grow wiser by our own mistakes,--- to learn prudence from our own misconduct, ---to make every fall a means of rising higher in virtue,---are circumstances which raise the dignity of human nature the nearest to that perfection of conduct which has never erred.

Possibly, in many instances, I shall need your candour: In one particular I must bespeak it. I live at a distance from the city, and visit it but seldom. The opinion I have formed of your conduct, depends, a good deal, upon report, and the common newspapers.---I have, however, endeavoured to get the best information I could; and I have not the least inclination to put unfair constructions upon your actions; and should I, in any instance, misrepresent you, I will, upon good information, make all proper acknowledgments. Under these circum-

stances, and with this disposition, I think I have a right to expect, that you will read this Address without prejudice, and judge of it with impartiality, and such a regard to truth and right, as every reasonable man ought to make the basis of his opinion in all discussions, and the rule of his conduct in all his actions.

You, sometime ago, Gentlemen, joined with the other citizens of New-York, in sending Delegates to represent your city in the Congress at Philadelphia. Let me intreat you to reflect a little upon the motives on which you then acted.---Did you expect that the Congress would consult upon, and enter into some reasonable and probable scheme for accommodating our unhappy disputes with our mother country, and of securing and rendering permanent our own privileges and liberties? Did you expect that they would endeavour, upon the true principles of legislation, to mark out the bounds of parliamentary authority over the colonies; on the one side ascertaining and securing the liberties of the colonists, and on the other giving full weight and force to the supreme authority of the nation over all its dominions? which is the only mode of settling finally and permanently our disputes with Great-Britain.---Or did you expect that the Congress would throw all into confusion,---revile and trample on the authority of Parliament, and make our breach with the parent state a thousand times more irreparable than it was before?

To say that the Congress have not acted in this manner is to talk *childishly,* without either reason or good sense on your side. Look at the Suffolk Resolves, from Massachusetts, which they adopted, *"approved and recommended."*——Look into their addresses to the people of Great-Britain, to the inhabitants of the colonies in general, and to those of Quebec in particular. They all tend, under cover of strong and lamentable cries about liberty, and the rights of Englishmen, to degrade and contravene the authority of the British Parliament over the British dominions; on which authority the rights of Englishmen are, in a great measure, founded; and on the due support of which authority, the liberty and property of the inhabitants, even of this country, must ultimately depend. They

all tend to raise jealousies, to excite animosities, to foment discords between us and our mother country. Not a word of peace and reconciliation,---not even a soothing expression:--- No concessions are offered on our part,--- nor even a possibility of their treating with us left. The parliament must give up their whole authority,---repeal all the acts, in a lump, which the Congress have found fault with, and trust, for the future, to our humour, to pay them just so much submission as we shall think convenient.

To me, it is a difficult task to account for the conduct of those gentlemen who were delegated from your city. Their characters, their stations, their abilities, their knowledge of the rights of mankind, and of the laws and constitution of their country, all concurred to raise my expectations, that they would have been of principal advantage in the congress, by moderating and keeping within bounds the fiery intemperate zeal, which it was too apparent, many of the Delegates carried with them to that assembly. Cruelly was I disappointed, when the account was confirmed, that the congress had *unanimously* adopted the *Suffolk Resolves*. Chagrined and vexed, I waited impatiently for their whole proceedings. Their proceedings, at length appeared,---and unhappily, the names of every Delegate from this province, one only excepted, who, I have been since informed, was absent, appeared at the bottom of their ill-concerted association.

I must leave it to these gentlemen to account for their own conduct: But, at the same time, must observe, that if what is whispered abroad be true, they are highly concerned to vindicate their conduct to the public. I do not choose to make myself accountable for transient whisperings, and vague reports. It is said, however, that some matters were *run* upon them,--- I use the very phrase that was made use of to me,---that they unfortunately agreed, before they proceeded to business, that neither *dissent* nor *protest* should appear on their minutes,--- that by this agreement their hands were tied, and they were obliged, in honour, to sign the association, and give their vote in confirmation of all the proceedings.---Let these Gentlemen, however, remember, that though they might unfortunately, and

imprudently have *tied up their own hands,* yet that their *feet* were at liberty; and that when they found the Congress were taking an undue advantage of them, and were driving matters to such a dreadful extremity, they ought, in justice to themselves and the public, to have walked off, and have *left* the Congress.

The conduct of the New-England Delegates does not appear to me so hard to explain. It is well known that the province of Massachusetts-Bay, have carried their opposition to the British government, to the most daring heighth. They set the example to the other colonies, of destroying the property of their fellow subjects, the East-India Company, in open defiance of the laws of the empire, to which they owed subjection, of the laws of the province in which they lived, and of the general laws of humanity.---They have wrested the command of the militia from his Majesty's Governor,---they have proscribed the legal Treasurer of the province, and without any course of law, proclaimed him a "traitor to the state;"---they are forming and disciplining regiments, providing ammunition and trains of artillery, to oppose the King's troops;---they have shut up, and rendered useless the legal courts of justice;—they have, by mobs and riots obliged many officers of the crown to resign their employments;—and in a variety of other instances have behaved themselves in such a manner, as to deserve the epithet of *rebellion.* The extravagancy of their demands, and of their conduct, are such, that no person can attempt to vindicate them, without giving up all pretensions to common sense.

Nor does this behaviour of the people of the Massachusetts appear to be the effect of any sudden emergency, but of premeditated design:—The three-penny duty on tea, they complied with, and imported near two thousand chests, embarrassed with it. But finding uneasiness and complaints in this province, New-Jersey, and Pennsylvania, on account of that duty; and their Assembly being engaged with their Governor, in some political disputes, which awakened their republican principles; they seem to have thought it a proper time to try how far the other colonies could, by art, and management, be induced to take part with them. They knew, that while all remained in

peace and quietness, they could do nothing. If the other colonies received their motions coolly, they could recede; if warmly, they could advance the farther.

The unlucky step that was taken at home, of sending Tea; belonging to the East-India company, to be sold here, increased our discontent, as it added the dread of a monopoly, to the hardship of which we already complained, of having threepence sterling exacted upon every pound of Tea imported into the colonies. This was a time not to be neglected by the Massachusetts people. Unhappily, the first ship, with the companies Tea arrived in their harbour. Instead of suffering the Tea to be landed and stored, and of shewing their patriotism in not buying and using it, they took the fatal resolution of destroying it. Having executed their rash purpose, they waited awhile to see what effect it would have in the other colonies. Finding themselves abetted and applauded by the more furious and fiery zealots among those people in the neighbouring governments, who have dignified themselves, and dishonoured the phrase, by stil-themselves* SONS OF LIBERTY, they became more turpulent and unruly; and spurned all the advice of the more moderate and more worthy part among themselves, of offering to make restitution for the damage they had done.

Perceiving that the Tea-ships had been obliged to return from Philadelphia and New-York, without being suffered to enter their ports, and that the contagion of their ill example had spread as far as the latter city, and had, in a lawless riotous manner, brought destruction on the Tea, imported by Captain *Chambers,* they advanced a step further. They, at first hesitatingly, afterwards more openly, proposed a Congress of Delegates, to meet at Philadelphia, about the first of September. Many moderate people, who wished nothing so much as a hearty reconciliation, and firm union with Great-Britain, eagerly embraced and helped forward the design. The Sons *of Liberty,*---N. B. I use the phrase only through courtesy,---exulted and applauded the scheme in such extravagant terms, that it was enough to make one think, that they imagined, that God himself could save their liberties in no other way. All

* Appears thus in text.

the wisdom of the continent was to be drawn together in a *focus* at Philadelphia, like the rays of light in a burning-glass. *There* a regular American constitution was to be settled, and our liberties and privileges fixed on a foundation so stable, that neither Lord North, nor Old Time himself, should ever make any impression on them.

Many people, however, expected no good from this proposed Congress. They foresaw that few, except the wrong-headed, blustering people among the sons of liberty, and the more sly favourers of an American Republic, would give themselves much trouble about the election of Delegates, unless it were the vain and pragmatical, of no political principles, who hoped to rise into some degree of consequence, from helping forward a project that had the popular cry in its favour. However ill-grounded these apprehensions were thought to be at that time, experience hath shewn that they were but too well founded.

Even in this province, many undue and unfair advantages were taken. I say nothing of the election in the city, for I know little about it. But when you had chosen your Delegates, the supervisors in the several counties were applied to by the committee of your city, if I understood the matter right, to call the people together, and to choose committees; which committees were to meet in one grand committee; and this grand committee of committees were to choose the Delegates for the county; or to declare their approbation of the New-York Delegates: And if any county or district did not meet and choose their committee, it was to be taken for granted, that they acquiesced in the New-York choice.

Here, Gentlemen, an unfair advantage was taken. You had no right to dictate to the counties in what manner they should proceed. You had no right to suppose that those districts, or those people who did not assemble, were in your favour. The contrary ought to have been supposed; and you ought to have considered those people and districts who did not assemble, as not choosing to have any Delegates in Congress at all. The people of your city can easily assemble; they have but a short walk to the city-hall or coffee-house. But it is

not easy to assemble the people of a country-district. Besides, it is well known by all those, who know any thing of human nature, that those people who are fond of innovations in government, and of rendering themselves conspicuous in their neighbourhood, would be most likely to attend on such an occasion. And so it accordingly happened; for it is notorious that in some districts only three or four met and *chose themselves* to be a committee on this most important occasion. So that, taking the whole province together, I am confident, your Delegates had not the voice of an hundreth part of the people in their favour.

You may say that the people might have assembled; and if they did not, their silence was to be taken for their consent. Not so fast, gentlemen. That they might have assembled, I know; but had *your* committee, or *their* own supervisors, any right to *call* them together? Were they under any obligations to obey such notifications, as a superior's advertisement, founded on the authority of a New-York committee? You know they were not, and because they did not choose to obey it, must their rights and privileges be given up, to be torn, and mangled, and trampled on by an enthusiastic congress? Whatever you, gentlemen, may think of the matter, or whatever my fellow-countrymen may think of it, *I* disdain such abject submission to your committee, or your delegates, or congress. *I* will not hold *my* rights and privileges on so precarious a tenure.

I do not recollect the precise mode in which the delegates were generally chosen in the other colonies. If it was in a manner similar to that in which their election was conducted in this province, the same objections may be made to it. But here I expect an outcry of exultation and triumph. "The Dele-"gates from several of the governments," cry the deep throated sons of liberty "were appointed by their ASSEMBLIES; " by the true and legal representatives of the people; and therefore "were the true and legal delegates of the people." I hear you, gentlemen; and while I hear you, I pity your ignorance, tho' I am astonished at your impudence. It would be much to your advantage if you would learn a little common sense, if you would furnish yourselves with some small degree of un-

derstanding, before you set up to manage the affairs of government, and to decide so very peremptorily upon the rights and liberties of your fellow-subjects. Learn to view things in their true light; to consider them according to their real natures, and to speak of them with propriety; and then you *will* be heard and attended to. But a misguided fancy, a heated imagination, will only hurry you into contempt. Noise and blustering may make you appear of some consequence in a tavern or ale-house: Loud cries of liberty may catch the ignorant, and beguile the unwary: *Tar and feathers* may silence the pusillanimous: But if you would rise into real dignity, and merit the esteem of your fellow subjects, in settling the present distracted state of our country, you must obtain a knowledge of the first principles at least, of civil government; from *them* you must deduce your reasonings; to *them* you must conform your conduct.

Consider now, and tell me, what right or power has any assembly on the continent to appoint delegates, to represent their province in such a congress as that which lately met at Philadelphia? The assemblies have but a delegated authority themselves. They are but the representatives of the people; they cannot therefore have even the shadow of right, to delegate that authority to three or four persons, even should these persons be of their own number, which were delegated by the people to their whole body conjunctively. Delegates, so appointed, are, at best, but delegates of delegates, but representatives of representatives. And whatever assembly hath acted in this manner, hath betrayed the rights and privileges of the people whom they represented. It has exercised a power which it never received from the people, but which it has usurped over them; and instead of commendations and applause, it deserves only censure and reproach. Besides,

The people are not bound by any act of their representatives, till it hath received the approbation of the other branches of the legislature. No delegates, therefore, can in any *true* sense be called the *representatives of a province,* unless they be appointed by the joint act of the whole legislature of the province. When, therefore, the delegates at Philadelphia, in the preamble

to their Bill of rights, and in their letter to his Excellency General Gage, stiled their body "a full and free representa- "tion of—" "all the colonies from Nova-Scotia to Georgia," they were guilty of a piece of impudence which was never equalled since the world began, and never will be exceeded while it shall continue.

Nor is it clear to me, that the legislature of any province have a power of appointing delegates to such a congress as lately met at Philadelphia. I am certain no provincial legislature can give them *such* powers as were lately exercised at Philadelphia.

The legislative authority of any province cannot extend farther than the province extends. None of its acts are binding one inch beyond its limits. How then can it give authority to a few persons to meet other persons, from other provinces, to make rules and laws for the whole continent? In such a case, the Carolinas, Virginia, Maryland, and the four New-England colonies, might make laws to bind Philadelphia, New-Jersey and New-York: that is---they might make laws whose operation should extend further than the authority by which they were enacted, extended. Before such a mode of legislation can take place, the constitution of our colonies must be subverted, & their present independency on each other must be annihilated. And after it was accomplished, we should be in a situation a thousand times worse, than our present dependance on Great-Britain, should all the difficulties we complain of be real, and all the grievances some people affect to fear, fall upon us.

But it is time to attend upon the congress, and consider their proceedings. However chosen, or however appointed, on September the fifth, 1774, the delegates met in a Grand Continental Congress at Philadelphia, and became the object of Grand Continental Attention. For a considerable time, they affected the utmost secrecy. Their doors were shut, their whole proceedings were involved in privacy and darkness. Nothing transpired, nothing was heard; but that Mr. ———, I forgot his name, was continually posting from Boston to Philadelphia, and from Philadelphia to Boston. We pleased ourselves with

the thoughts that all our grievances would now be decently and fairly represented, all our unhappy disputes with our mother-country adjusted and settled, and every possibility of future contention obviated, by the joint wisdom, prudence and moderation of all the colonies. Like the country people in the fable, we stood all attentive to the *throes* and *pangs* of the *labouring* mountain,---agape, with the expectation of some mighty matter to be produced at the birth. I would to God our expectations, like theirs, had ended in laughter and merriment;---But alas! the *labour* of the congress produced, not a silly mouse, to make us laugh, but a venomous brood of scorpions, to sting us to death.

During that mysterious period of silence, when they kept the whole continent in suspence, they seem to have been in the state of a man who is determined upon some hazardous enterprize, but not having courage enough to set about it cooly and deliberately, is obliged to wait till accident, or his own efforts have raised his passions to a proper degree of fury: Or, like the inhabitants of New-Zealand, before they attack their enemies, they found it necessary to animate themselves by singing their war song, exercising their lances, and brandishing their patoo-patoos, that they might work themselves up into such a state of frenzy, as should apparently lessen the danger of those desperate measures, which they were already determined to pursue.

The people of Boston seem attentively to have regulated their conduct in such a manner, as should have the greatest tendency to inflame the minds of the congress when it should meet. While the members of that assembly were drawing together at Philadelphia, a report was spread from Boston that the navy and army had attacked the town. Posts were dispatched with the most hasty speed, from town to town, till the dreadful tidings arrived at Philadelphia. In New-England, all was hurry and confusion, "the pulpit-drum ecclesiastic," spread the alarm through Connecticut. They flew to arms, and marched off to attack the troops of *that King* whose *faithful and loyal subjects* they have repeatedly declared themselves to be; those very

troops, which were employed in the support of his government, and in the protection of his subjects.

This false alarm answered two purposes. It tried the temper of the other New-England colonies, and convinced the Boston people, that they were ready to join them in their most extravagant schemes,---to rush headlong with them down the precipice of rebellion. It served also to inflame the congress, and to prepare the way for another Boston manœuvre.

The county of Suffolk, in the province of Massachusetts Bay, had, on the sixth and ninth of September, entered into a set of resolves, by which the authority of the government of Great-Britain was denied, the courts of justice shut up, his Majesty's counsellors, who did not resign their places by a day set them, viz. September 20th, were declared to be " obstinate and in- " corrigible enemies to their country." The command of the militia taken from the King, and lodged in the people; with several other positions and declarations equally seditious and rebellious. It was a matter of great consequence to the success of their schemes, to get these resolves ratified, and confirmed by authority of the congress. Now was the lucky time, the critical minute. Their passions were up, their reason disturbed, their judgment distorted; with the most inconsiderate rashness they took the fatal resolution of adopting *" approving and re- " commending"* the conduct of the Suffolk people, contained in their resolves of the 6th of September; thereby making those rebellious resolves, as far as in them lay, the act and deed of all his *Majesty's faithful subjects, in all the colonies, from Nova Scotia to Georgia.*

It is not my design to consider minutely this adopted brat of the congress---the Suffolk resolves.---Every person who wishes a reconciliation with Great-Britain; who desires to continue under her dominion and protection; who hopes to enjoy the security of law and good government, and to transmit our present free and happy constitution untainted and uncorrupted to his posterity; must condemn and abhor them. Nor will I enter on a particular examination of the other productions of the congress. To point out and animadvert on every thing in their addresses, &c. which deserved censure, would require a

volume; nor would my patience hold out through so dirty a road, though I should find scarce any thing to impede my progress; but positive assertions, without proof; declamations, without argument; and railing, without modesty.

My business is to detect and expose the false, arbitrary, and tyrannical PRINCIPLES upon which the Congress acted, and to point out their fatal tendency to the interests and liberties of the colonies.

It was the general opinion and expectation of those people I conversed with, that the congress would form some reasonable and probable scheme of accommodating our unhappy disputes with the mother country, and of securing our own rights and liberties; and that in order to make our union with Great-Britain durable and permanent, they would endeavor to mark out the limits of parliamentary authority over the colonies; ascertaining, on the one hand, the liberties of the colonies, and on the other, giving full weight to the supreme authority of the nation over all its dominions. Had they attempted this, they would have done something towards accomplishing the important business on which they assembled. Though they might have executed it in an imperfect manner, it might probably have served for something to build upon; it would have been discussed here and at home; its errors pointed out; its advantages explained; its inconveniences obviated; and future improvements might have made it of real utility: At least, they would, by this conduct, have shewn their attention to the interests of the colonies, and would, even on that account, have deserved their regard; but they did nothing like this, on the contrary, they spent near, or quite, two months, in approving and commending the mad proceedings of the people of Boston, and writing inflammatory addresses to the people of Great-Britain, Quebec, and the other provinces; and in exercising *an assumed power of legislation.*

Should any person choose to controvert this last position, I appeal to the *Association* published by them, under the signature of their own names. Every article of this instrument was intended by them to have a force of the law. They have indeed used the *soft, mild, insinuating* term of *recommending* their laws

to our observance, instead of the authoritative phrase of " Be it enacted, &c." because, their authority was not yet firmly settled. But they have *solemnly bound themselves and their constituents*—by whom they affect to mean every inhabitant of the colonies, from Nova-Scotia to Georgia---(happy Nova-Scotia! happy Georgians who are out of their jurisdiction--) *to adhere firmly to their Association;*---they have appointed their officers to carry it into execution,--they have ordained penalties upon those that shall presume to violate it. The appointments of those officers, the mode of their proceeding, the penalties to be inflicted, are contained in the eleventh article of the association.

Upon this article I beg leave to make some remarks.

" A committee" is ordered " to be chosen in every county, city, and town;" and to give the weight to those committees, and to make them appear as much as possible like LEGAL OFFICERS *duly elected,* they are ordered to be chosen only " *by those who are qualified to vote for Representatives in the legislature.*" A strong circumstance to prove that the Congress intended to give the force of a law to their Association.

Their " business shall be attentively to observe the conduct " of all persons touching this Association; and when it shall " be made appear to the satisfaction of a majority of any such " committee, that any person within the limits of their appoint- " ment has violated this Association, that such majority do " forthwith cause the truth of the case to be published in the " Gazette, to the end, that all such foes to the rights of British " America may be publicly known, and universally contemned " as the enemies of American liberty, and henceforth we re- " spectively will break off all dealings with him or her."

Here, gentlemen, is a court established upon the same principles with the *papish Inquisition.* No proofs, no evidences are called for. The committee may judge from *appearances* if they please---for when it shall be made appear to a majority of any committee that the Association is violated, they may proceed to punishment, and *appearances,* you know, are easily *made;* nor is the offender's *presence* necessary. He may be condemned unseen, unheard---without even a possibility of making a defence. No jury is to be impannelled.---No check is appointed upon this

court;---no appeal from its determination: Nor is it left accountable to any power on earth; so that if a majority of the committee should chance not to have the fear of GOD before their eyes—the Lord have mercy upon us all!

Next, look at the punishment to be inflicted upon any person, when it shall *appear* to a majority of any committee that he hath violated this Association:----The committee are to cause the truth of the case to be published in the Gazette.---Consider the matter gentlemen, fairly and cooly, without prejudice or partiality. Should committees be chosen, according to the purport of this eleventh article of the Association, in every *county, city and town,* from Nova-Scotia to Georgia—do you think that a majority of *every* such committee would consist of men of such *exact* honour and probity, as that we might in *all* cases expect the *truth,* the *whole truth, and nothing but the truth,* in their publications? Do we run no risk by committing such unbounded power into their hands? May they not sometimes wantonly abuse it? Especially as they are accountable to no superior tribunal;---without any other check on their conduct, than their own honour. Will their passions, their prejudices and prepossessions never warp them from *realities,* to judge by *appearances* only? They must be very extraordinary persons indeed.

When the *Popish* inquisition hath passed sentence of condemnation on any person, they have done their duty----the poor wretch is then delivered over to the secular power to be punished. In humble imitation of this humane and laudable practice, when the *committorial* inquisition has condemned any person, and published his sentence in the Gazette; they have done their duty; and then the poor culprit is to be delivered over to the power of the mob, for execution. He is to be considered as a *foe to the rights of British America, and universally contemned as the enemy of American liberty, and thenceforth* the parties of the Association *respectively will break off all dealings with him or her.*----Poor, unhappy wretch, how I pity thee! Cast out from civil society! Nobody to have any dealings with thee! None to sell thee a loaf of bread, or a pot of tea-water, but such miserable out-laws as thyself! Perhaps thou hast drank a dish of *tea,* or a glass of *Madeira,* or hast used an English *pin,*

or eaten Irish *potatoe,* imported out of due time;—and hast had the truth of thy unhappy case published, by the inquisition, in the Gazette: And is there no relief! Must thou expect no mitigation of thy punishment? None, my friend; thou hast committed the unpardonable sin against the Congress; and the utmost vengeance that they can inflict awaits thee!---Comfort thyself however in this---that thou art in no worse state than a few honest people, of whom I have read, in an old neglected book, who were not allowed to *buy* or *sell,* because they had not the *mark of the beast* in their *foreheads.*

I beg your pardon, Gentlemen, for treating so serious a subject with ridicule. Look back, I beseech you, upon the conduct of the Congress---consider what a state they have brought you into---view well the difficulties that surround you. Perhaps you may be tempted to make light of them, and without much reflection, to say, that *all will be well.* But remember;—your liberties and properties are now at the mercy of a body of men unchecked, uncontrouled by the civil power. You have chosen your committee;---you are no longer your own masters:---you have subjected your business, your dealings, your mode of living, the conduct and regulation of your families, to *their* prudence and discretion. The public laws of the province are superseded by the laws of the Congress. The government of your city is, in a great measure, taken out of the hands of the magistrates; they cannot do their duty for the want of that support which all good men ought to give them:---Violence is done to private property, by riotous assemblies, and the rioters go unpunished; nay more;---are applauded for those very crimes which the laws of the government have forbidden, under severe penalities.

You seem to think yourselves perfectly safe and secure, because your committee consists of virtuous and honest men, and *they will* not hurt you. I have no inclination to detract from the virtue, or to impeach the honesty of the gentlemen of the committee. I hope their future conduct will justify your good opinion of them. It is best however to see the end of their committee-ship, before you give them the sanction of your approbation.---But is it then come to *this?*--Your committee *will*

not hurt you. Are you content to have your liberty and property dependent on the *Will* of the committee? *You* that spurned at the thought of holding your rights on the precarious tenure of the *will* of a British ministry, as you have been pleased to speak; or of a British Parliament, can *you* submit to hold them on as precarious a tenure, the *will* of a New-York committee, of a continental congress?

You cannot, I think, want conviction, that your liberty and property are made subject to the laws of the Congress, and the will of the committee. If you do, look at the tenth article of the Association. Any goods or merchandize that may arrive on your account between the first day of December, and the first day of February next, though you should have ordered them before the Congress had a being, must be reshipped by your *own* direction; and this direction you *must* give, under the penalty of being *gazetted*;---or, they must be delivered up to the committee of the county or town wherein they shall be imported, to be stored at your *own risk*;---or, they must be sold under the direction of the committee; and after you are reimbursed your first cost and charges, the profit is to be applied to the relieving such poor inhabitants of the town of Boston as are immediate sufferers by the Boston Port Bill.---Good God! That men who exclaim so violently for liberty and the rights of Englishmen, should ever voluntarily submit to such an abject state of slavery! That *you,* who refuse submission to the Parliament, should tamely give up your liberty and property to an illegal, tyrannical Congress: For shame, gentlemen, act more consistently. You have blustered, and bellowed, and swaggered, and bragged, that no British Parliament should dispose of a penny of your money without your leave, and now you suffer yourselves to be *bullied* by a *Congress,* and *cowed* by a COMMITTEE, and through fear of the *Gazette,* are obliged to hold open your pocket, and humbly intreat that the gentlemen of the committee would take out *all* the profits of a whole importation of goods, for the benefit of the *Boston poor.*

In God's name, are not the people of Boston able to relieve their *own* poor? Must they go begging from Dan to Beersheba; *levying* contributions, and *exacting* fines, from Nova Scotia to

Georgia, to support a few poor people whom their perverseness and ill conduct have thrown into distress? If they are *really* under such violent concern for their poor, why don't they *pay* for the tea which they destroyed, and thereby qualify themselves to have their port opened?---this would effectually answer the purpose; and is only an act of bare justice which they ought to have done long ago:---They have made a great parade about employing their poor, in paving their streets, and repairing their wharves and docks;---are they unable to *pay* them for their labour? Can't they *spare* some small portion of that wealth, which is now pouring in upon them from the army and navy, for so good a purpose? Or will not the labour of the poor support them now, as well as formerly? Must they command the wealth of the continent, to ornament their town, and render it more commodious? Do they expect a *literal* completion of the promise, that the *Saints shall inherit the earth?* In my conscience, I believe they do. Nor can I, on this occasion, help recollecting the observation of a queer fellow some time ago. Discoursing with him on this very subject, he said, that the conduct of the Boston people seemed to him to indicate an opinion "that God had made Boston for himself, and all the rest of the world for Boston."

For Heaven's sake, gentlemen, have you no *poor* of your *own* to relieve? Are you sure that your non-importation, non-exportation, non-consumption schemes, will not draw the resentment of the British parliament on *you,* as well as on *Boston?*

I pretend not to a right of dictating to you; you have my free consent to dispose of your money as you please. If the people of Boston are unable to relieve their poor, they have an undoubted right to beg for them. And whether they are able or not, you have a right to give as much, and as often as you please. But what right had the *Congress* to give what did not *belong* to them? to give your money,---the profits arising from the sale of your goods,—without your consent?—But I forget myself,—they first proclaimed themselves your representatives, and then of course they had an undoubted, legal, constitutional right to all your substance. For you know, gentlemen, that representation and taxation go together. God and

nature hath joined them.—But how, on this principle, you will keep your money out of the harpy-claws of the congress, I cannot conceive. They have shewn you already what they can do: And power is apt to be encroaching: the next congress may go farther: they have taxed you but lightly now; only the profits arising from goods imported in two months. But the *same power* that *now* takes the *profits,* may *next* take the *goods too.* I know not how you will help yourselves, unless you have prudence enough to recur to the first principles of government: And then you will find that *Legislation* and *Taxation* go together; and that no government ever yet had a being where they were divided. It is true, in the British government, for the greater security of the subject, all money-bills must take their rise in the House of Commons; nor will the commons, suffer the Lords or the King to amend or alter a money-bill: Notwithstanding which, it has no more force than an old almanack, and will raise no more money, till it has passed the House of Lords, and received the Royal Assent: That is, till it has received the sanction of the *whole legislature,* and become one of the *Laws of the Kingdom.*

After all, there is something, to me, very mysterious in the conduct of the congress on this point; and if I should not express myself clearly on it, I must be forgiven; and if I am not, I don't care much about it.—The congress seem to me, to oblige a man to give the profits of his goods to the Boston poor, whether he *will* or *not*; and at the same time to oblige him to be *willing* to do so, even *against* his *will.*---They seem to oblige him to reship his goods, or deliver them up to be stored or sold, whether he be *willing* or *unwilling;* at the same time they oblige him to be so far *willing,* as to direct it to be done, even *against* his *will.* This is too much like that divinity which obliges a man, even against his *will,* to be *willing* to be damned, before it allows him a chance for escaping. I don't understand this having two *wills,* a *willing will,* and an *unwilling will.* I don't see how a man can act *freely* upon *compulsion.* The goods are to be reshipped *at the direction of the owner.* Suppose he should be unwilling. *Unwilling* or *not,* he *must* be *willing,*--- or the dread of the GAZETTE shall make him so. So that should

any importer be so unfortunate as to have the arrival of his goods delayed, by any accident, till the beginning of December, he will be in the state of a man, who being condemned to be hanged, by a law made after his pretended crime was committed, was yet so cruelly treated by his judge, as to be obliged to hang himself; or at least, obliged, freely and willingly to give directions to somebody else to perform the friendly office for him. This is too much like the story of poor Jack's hanging bout, in the history of John Bull; and smells most confoundedly strong of passive obedience and non-resistance. *You* may embrace the doctrine, gentlemen, and act upon it too, if you please; but really it is too much for *me*. I cannot swallow it; and if I could, I am sure my stomach would never digest it.

I hope, Gentlemen, that you want no more proof, that the regulations of the congress have, and were intended to have, the force of laws:---nor that your liberty and property are now at the mercy of your committee. Say that it is not so, and we will put the matter on THIS footing:---There is not one of you that will dare to act contrary to the laws of the congress:---not one of you will run the risk of opposing the committee in the execution of the office lately established by their High Mightinesses the Delegates.---I am very certain that you do not ALL approve of these non-importation, non-exportation, and non-consumption schemes. *Some* of you *must* have too much sense and understanding not to perceive their *fatal tendency*. But not one of you will have courage enough to avow your sentiments, and oppose them. The first of you, whose goods shall arrive after the first of December, will, with unwilling steps, march willingly to the committee, your new masters, and give *Directions* to have them disposed of, just as *they* shall please to order. So you will act, and I know the reason you will assign for it,---You'll say, your *honour* is engaged,—that you consented to send Delegates to the congress,--and that you promised to abide by, and observe all their determinations and laws.---This indeed was unfortunate: It was much the same conduct with his, who swore to *etcæteras*. But let us examine how far your honour is *really* engaged by such a promise.

Government was intended for the security of those who

live under it;—to protect the weak against the strong;—the good against the bad;—to preserve order and decency among men, preventing every one from injuring his neighbour. Every person, then, owes obedience to the laws of the government under which he lives, and is obliged in honour and duty to support them. Because, if *one* has a right to disregard the laws of the society to which he belongs, *all* have the *same* right; and *then* government is at an end. Your honour was therefore previously engaged to the government under which you live, before you promised to abide by the determinations of the congress. You had no right to make a promise implicitly to obey all their regulations, before you knew what they were, and whether they would interfere with the public laws of the government, or not. And you are so far from being bound in honour to *obey* any determinations of the congress, which interfere with the laws of the government, that you are really bound in honour to *oppose* them. Now, a little consideration will render it evident, that there is no such thing as carrying the regulations of the congress into execution, without transgressing the known laws, and contravening the legal authority of the government:—without injuring and oppressing your neighbours, who have as good a right to the protection of the laws, as *you* have.

Let it also be considered, that as no man has a legal right to do what the laws forbid, so every man has a legal right to do what they permit.

Now, by enforcing an observance of the determinations of the congress, in this province, you abrogate, or suspend, several of its laws, some of them essential to the peace and order of the government: You contravene its authority: You take the government of the province out of the hands of the governor, council and assembly, and the government of the city, out of the hands of the legal magistrates, and place them in a CONGRESS, a body utterly unknown in any legal sense! You introduce a *foreign* power, and make *it* an instrument of *injustice* and *oppression*.

The laws of this government forbid all riots, all instances of violence to others, either in abusing their persons, or depriv-

ing them of their property:---They forbid us to disturb or hinder any person in the prosecution of his lawful business;---that is, in doing what the law permits to be done.

Now, what law has forbidden the exportation of sheep? No law of the province. The farmer is permitted to sell them, and the buyer to carry them off, if he pleases.---But you have introduced a law of the congress, making that unlawful and impracticable which the laws of the province permit. And in carrying this regulation of the congress into execution, on a late occasion, a public law, which forbids all riots, was notoriously trampled upon, and a flagrant and oppressive act of injustice done to several of his Majesties subjects.

Can it be supposed, that your honour obliges you to perpetrate, or abet such actions? If not, it does not oblige you to conform to the regulations of the congress, or carry them into execution.

There is no *honour,* but what is founded in *Justice* and *Virtue.* Take these away, and what is *called* so is a mere *name;* it may be whim, it may be caprice, it may be pride, it may be selfishness: But HONOUR it can *not* be.

Suppose one of your fellow-citizens should have a parcel of goods arrive after the first day of December, and should refuse to deliver them up to the disposal of the committee: Are you in *honour* bound to compel him? In importing the goods he has transgressed no law of God, of nature, nor of the province. On the contrary, the laws of God, of nature, and of the province, forbid you to molest him in the prosecution of his business. But you are introducing a regulation of the congress superior to the laws of God, of nature, and of the province:---A regulation that supersedes and vacates them all. Remember, gentlemen, that honour and duty are always consistent. Honour can never oblige a man to do that which his duty forbids him to do. Your duty requires you to obey the laws of the government in which you live, and to support their authority: But *this* honour you talk of, requires you to disobey the laws of the government, and to disannul their authority. It is therefore *false* and not *true* honour which obliges you to adhere to the regulations of the congress, and to endeavour to carry them

into execution; for it obliges you to act in direct opposition to your duty, to the laws of the government, to the rights and privileges of your fellow-citizens, and to the general good of the whole province; nay, of *all* the provinces, from Nova-Scotia to Georgia.

Some carry the matter still further; they plead the necessity of the times, and pronounce boldly, that when any people are struggling for liberty, the operation of the laws must, of course, cease, and the authority of government subside: And in support of this position, they alledge the instance of that memorable revolution in England, which placed the great King William on the throne. However necessary that revolution may have been to secure the rights and liberties of the English nation, no man, I am persuaded, who really loves his country, would wish to see it again torn by such violent convulsions as it then endured. People who talk so very feelingly, and with so much pleasure about revolutions, and who are ever ready to justify the most violent, and the most needless opposition to government, by the example of the great revolution in England, seem to me to be too fond of revolutions to be good subjects of any government on earth. However, let us examine a little how far the necessary struggles for liberty will justify that violence, which puts an end to the operation of the laws, and introduces anarchy, riots, and brutal force, in their stead.

The operation of the laws certainly ought not to cease any farther than the necessary struggles for liberty require. A small struggle will not justify a total subversion of law and good government. A struggle for liberty, however necessary it may be, which can be carried on consistently with the laws, and in due subordination to government, will never justify the breach of any one law, nor opposition to government in any instance.---To speak directly to our own case.

Had you, gentlemen, suffered the Tea belonging to the East India Company, to have been landed and stored, you would have been under no obligations to have bought it, or to have used it. It might have lain till doomsday, and would never have hurt you or your posterity. Your dispute with the mother-

country, about the three-penny duty, would have been conducted consistently with the laws of the government, and no injury would have been done to any mortal. But this peaceable conduct comported not with the intemperate, fiery zeal of the *Sons of Liberty*. The cry *then* was, that there was not *virtue* enough in the city to prevent the Tea from being bought and used.---A strange alteration has happened in a short time.---You have *now* virtue enough to prevent, not only *Tea* from being bought and *used*, but *all* commodities from Great-Britain and Ireland, &c. from being *imported*. If you go on, gentlemen, your improvements in *virtue* will soon put you upon an *exact equality* with the New-England people, whom a late celebrated writer of your city stiled, the *most virtuous people on earth!* Instead of this peaceable conduct, every violent measure has been pursued; all means that tended to promote a reconciliation with Great-Britain, and to maintain the peace and order of the government in which we live, have been neglected. And to complete the folly of your conduct, you now resolve to adhere to the determinations of the congress, thereby precluding all possibility of accommodation with the mother-country, except upon our own terms, which never can be complied with, consistently with the dignity of the nation: You thereby also introduce a new authority into the province, highly derogatory from, and subversive of the power of the legislature: You establish a court of Inquisition, to decide, in the most arbitrary, tyrannical and unheard-of manner, upon the liberties and properties of your fellow-subjects, over whom you have no just or legal power: You lay an embargo upon all the produce of the farmers, and will thereby be enabled to purchase it at your own price: You have monopolized, into your own hands many of the necessaries and comforts of life, and you prevent any more from being imported; by which means you will command the purses of the good people of the province, and may extort what sums you please from them in payment for your goods: And lastly, you promote and encourage riots, mobs and tumults, and make them the means of carrying into execution that abominable system of oppression which the congress have devised for the future government of the continent.

All the hardships which you complain of, all the evils which you say, you fear, from the weight of parliamentary power, endured for a *Century,* would not injure this province so much as this mode of conduct continued only for a *twelvemonth.*

Where, I beseech you, was the necessity for all this so glaring, so violent an infringement of the laws of society, and of the rights of your fellow subjects? In truth, there never was, nor is there now, any other necessity than what you yourselves have made. Had you permitted the Tea to have been stored, and only refrained from purchasing it, you might have waited for the meeting of the assembly, without any manner of danger to your rights and privileges: and then you might have had the grievances you complain of, considered by the true and legal representations of the people: If they were found to be just, they would have been represented, and a remedy sought, in a legal constitutional way; without the subversion of the laws, without the oppression of individuals, and without detriment to the province.

Instead of this reasonable and manly mode of proceeding, you have, by your rash and precipitate conduct, cast a very undeserved odium on your representatives, and involved the province in confusion and danger.——Have your representatives neglected your interests?—Have they given up your liberties?—Have they betrayed your rights?—Have they shewn any *disposition* to do these things?—If not, why are they neglected? Why are they treated as though they were not worthy to be trusted.

Let it also be considered, that the assembly are a body known and acknowledged by the laws of the empire. Their representations would be considered, their petitions or remonstrances attended to. The supreme authority of the nation could treat with them without descending from its dignity. But the congress are a body unknown to the government. In a *legal* sense, they are no *body at all.* You cannot then expect, that their petitions, should they have made any, will be attended to, or their remonstrances regarded.

Let those, who are fond of pleading the necessities of the times, in excuse of the subversion of the laws, consider,---that

violent and illegal measures, even in the most necessary struggles for liberty, can never be justified, till all legal and moderate ones have failed.---Supposing therefore, that all the complaints we make against the British Parliament and Ministry are founded in truth; and that all the evils which we foresee and foretel are really coming on us. We have no right to procede to such violent means of redress as the congress have directed, and you are executing, till the legal and constitutional applications of our Assembly have failed.

Let me now request of you, gentlemen, to look back, and consider the whole of the matter, and then determine for yourselves, whether you are bound by the principles of honour, of duty, or of conscience, to adhere to, or carry into execution, the regulations of the Congress, to the subversion of the laws, the disturbance of the peace, the oppression of the inhabitants, and the destruction of the property of the province in which you live?

Besides, are you sure, that while you are supporting the authority of the congress, and exalting it over your own legislature, that you are not nourishing and bringing to maturity, a grand American Republic, which shall, after a while, rise to power and grandeur, upon the ruins of our present constitution? To me the danger appears more than possible. The out-lines of it seem already to be drawn. We have had a grand Continental Congress at Philadelphia. Another is to meet in May next. There has been a Provincial Congress held in Boston government. And as all the colonies seem fond of imitating the Boston politics, it is very probable that the scheme will spread and increase; and in a little time, the *Common-Wealth* be completely formed.

You may think this a chimera, a creature of my own brain, and may laugh at it. But when you consider circumstances with a more minute attention, possibly some foundation for my suspicions may appear. That a majority of the people of the Massachusetts-Bay have it in meditation to throw off their subjection to Great-Britain, as soon as a favourable season presents, can scarce admit of a doubt. The independency of that province on the British Parliament, has been declared in express

terms. As yet they acknowledge King George the Third for their King and liege Lord;—how long they will abide by this acknowledgment is very uncertain. They are daily encroaching on the prerogatives of his crown, and the legal rights of his throne. They have wrested the militia from the command of his Governor, and are disciplining it to fight against his own troops, whom they have called *military executioners,* and enemies to their state. They have obliged his servants to resign their employments. They have shut up his courts of justice, dissolved his government, and are erecting one of their own modeling in its room.

They boast of the number and valour of their men, and have given plain intimations, in the Suffolk Resolves, that they will not always act on the *defensive.* I could enumerate more circumstances in support of my suspicions, but these are sufficient.

Only now suppose it possible that they should succeed, and become a state independent on Great-Britain. The probable consequence would be, that the other New-England colonies would join them, and together with them, form one Republic. When once they had arrived at this height of power, How long do you suppose they would remain in peace with *this* government? Certainly only till a fair opportunity offered to attack it with advantage. The New-England people have ever cast a wishful eye on the lands of this province. Connecticut, Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, have all in their turns encroached upon them; and their encroachments have not only been very troublesome, but also very difficult to remove. A state of continual war with New-England, would be the inevitable fate of this province, till submission on our part, or conquest on their part, put a period to the dispute. The consequences of such an event to the *landed interest* of this colony, need no enumeration.

Whenever the fatal period shall arrive, in which the American colonies shall become independent on Great-Britain, a horrid scene of war and bloodshed will immediately commence. The interests, the commerce of the different provinces will interfere: disputes about boundaries and limits will arise. There will be no supreme power to interpose; but the sword and bayonet must decide the dispute. We, indeed, in *words,* disclaim

every thought and wish of separating our interests from hers: But in *deed* and *fact,* all the colonies from Nova-Scotia to Georgia, have run headlong into such measures, as must, if they prove successful, finally break intirely our connection with her, or reduce her to the disagreeable necessity of establishing her dominion over us, in conquest.

To talk of subjection to the *King* of Great-Britain, while we disclaim submission to the Parliament of Great-Britain, is idle and ridiculous. It is a distinction made by the American Republicans to serve their own rebellious purposes,—a gilding with which they have enclosed the pill of sedition, to entice the unwary colonists to swallow it the more readily down.---The King of Great-Britain was placed on the throne by virtue of an act of Parliament: And he is King of America, by virtue of being King of Great-Britain. He is therefore King of America by act of Parliament. And if we disclaim that authority of Parliament which made him our King, we, in fact, reject him from being our King; for we disclaim that authority by which he is a King at all.

Let us not, Gentlemen, be led away from our duty and allegiance, by such fantastical distinctions. They are too nice and subtil for practice; and fit only for Utopian schemes of government. We have so long paid attention to sophistical declamations about liberty and property, the power of government, and the rights of the people, the force of laws and the benefit of the constitution, that we have very little of any of them left among us: And if we continue to support and imitate the mad schemes of our eastern neighbours, in the manner we have done, in a very short time, we shall have none at all.

We have hitherto proceeded from bad to worse. It is time to consider and correct our conduct. As yet it has done us no good: If persisted in too far, it will bring ruin upon us. It is our duty to make some proposals of accomodation with our parent country: And they ought to be reasonable ones---such as might be made with safety on our part, and accepted with dignity on hers. But if we expect to oblige *her* to propose a reconciliation,---to ask and intreat us to accept of such and such terms, to force *her* to concede every thing, while we will concede

nothing:---If we are determined to proceed as we have done,---continually rising in our demands and increasing our opposition, I dread to think of the consequence. The authority of Great-Britain over the colonies must cease; or the force of arms must finally decide the dispute. Many Americans are hardy enough to suppose, that, in such a contest, we should come off victorious: But horrid indeed would be the consequence of our success! We should presently turn our arms on one another; ---province against province,---and destruction and carnage would dessolate the land. Probably it would cost the blood of a great part of the inhabitants to determine, what kind of government we should have---whether a Monarchy or a Republic. Another effusion of blood would be necessary to fix a Monarch, or to establish the common wealth.

But it is much more probable, that the power of the British arms would prevail: And then, after the most dreadful scenes of violence and slaughter---CONFISCATIONS and EXECUTIONS must close the HORRID TRAGEDY.

A. W. FARMER.

November 28, 1774.

FINIS.

POSTSCRIPT.

FARMER A. W. *has seen a pamphlet, entitled, "A full Vindication of the Measures of the Congress, &c." He is neither frighted nor disconcerted by it; nor does he find any thing in it to make him change his sentiments, as expressed in the* Free Thoughts: *If the author of the Vindication has any teeth left, here is another* file *at his service.* A. W. *would be well pleased with an opportunity of vindicating both his publications at the same time, and he will wait ten days for this* Friend to America's *Remarks upon the* Examination into the Conduct of the Delegates, *which he supposes will be full time enough for so very accomplished a writer to* ridicule *all the* wit *contained in it.* A. W. *begs the author of the Vindication to*

consult Johnson's Dictionary, and see whether the expression, "and his wit *ridiculed," be* classical *or not. He is persuaded that had the* Vindicator *possessed the least spark of genuine* wit, *he would have felt both the impropriety of the expression, and the impracticability of the attempt.*

Dec. 16, 1774.

A

VIEW

OF THE

CONTROVERSY

BETWEEN

Great-Britain *and her* Colonies:

INCLUDING

A MODE of Determining their preſent Diſputes,

FINALLY and EFFECUALLY;

AND OF PREVENTING

ALL FUTURE CONTENTIONS.

IN

A LETTER,

To the AUTHOR of

A FULL VINDICATION

OF

The Meaſures of the Congreſs,

FROM THE

CALUMNIES *of their* ENEMIES.

——— how haſt thou inſtill'd
Thy *Malice* into *Thouſands*, once *upright*
And *faithful*; *now* prov'd *falſe?* MILTON.

By *A. W.* FARMER.
Author of Free Thoughts, *&c.*

NEW-YORK:
Printed by JAMES RIVINGTON,
M,DCC,LXXIV.

A VIEW OF THE CONTROVERSY, &c. IN A LETTER to the Author of A FULL VINDICATION, &c.

Sir,

YOU have done me the honour "to bestow some notice "upon" a little pamphlet which I lately published, entitled, *Free Thoughts on the Proceedings of the Continental Congress,* in a Piece which you call, *A full Vindication of the Measures of the Congress, from the Calumnies of their Enemies.* My present business shall be to examine your Vindication, and see whether it *fully* exculpates *the measures of the Congress,* from the charges brought against them by the friends of order and good government. This task I shall endeavour to perform, with all that freedom of thought and expression, which, as an *Englishman* I have a right to; and which never shall be wrested from me, either by *yourself* or the *Congress.*

I freely own, that I wrote and published the *Free Thoughts* with a design to "diminish the influence, and prevent the effects of the "decisions" of the Congress. You speak of the *impotence* of such attempts; of the general *indignation* with which they are treated; you say "that no material ill consequences (i. e. to

"your party) can be dreaded from them." Why then did you take the pains to write so long, so elaborate a pamphlet, to justify decisions against whose influence none but impotent attempts had been made?—to prevent ill consequences which were not to be dreaded?—You felt, Sir, the force of the stubborn facts exhibited to the view of the public in the *Free Thoughts*: You perceived the ground on which the decrees of the Congress were founded, to be hollow and ready to fall in: you was willing to prop it up at any rate. You knew, that at the bar of *impartial* reason, and *common* sense, the conduct of the Congress must be condemned. You was too much interested, too deeply engaged in party views and party heats, to bear this with patience. You had no remedy but *artifice, sophistry, misrepresentation* and *abuse*: These are your weapons, and these you wield like an old experienced practitioner.

Is this *too* heavy a charge? Can you lay your hand upon your heart, and upon your honour plead *not guilty?*—Was it then vanity that led you to combat *ill consequences that were not to be dreaded?* To prevent *impotent efforts* from succeeding, which, you knew, were not likely to succeed? to make *that* the object of general indignation, which already *was* so?—Was it purely to shine as a *patriotic writer?* To give a specimen of your abilities?—To shew us, in short, what you *can* do, that gave birth to the Vindication?—Probably, you had better have repressed these emotions: for though your pamphlet may please your party,—and I dare say, would have pleased them just as well with half its real merit,—though they may praise and extol it, as a matchless, inimitable performance; yet, Sir, in a literary way, good judges will consider it only as the effort of a genius that never can rise above mediocrity. If you seldom *sink* into meanness of diction, you never *soar* into that *briliancy* of thought; nor, even with the help of Johnson's Dictionary, into that *classical elegance* of expression which is absolutely necessary for the arduous attempt of *ridiculing wit.*

I, who am a plain Farmer, though of some education, have no manner of inclination to dispute the prize of *Wit* and *Ridicule,* with the panegyrist of the late *all-accomplished* Congress. You, Sir, shall bear off the palm, unrivalled, unenvied by me.—

I, also, congratulate you on the discovery of "a seeming contra-"diction" in the Free Thoughts. I could point out to you a dozen more of its errors in diction and grammar; one of which you have quoted more than once, but you had two much generosity of temper to animadvert upon it. I wrote the Free Thoughts, as I write now, without much regard to stile, or grammatical accuracy. My business was not to *please* or *amuse,* but to *convince* my countrymen and fellow-subjects of the evil tendency of the measures of the Congress, and to give all the obstruction in my power to their being carried into execution. This I did from a principle of conscience, from a sense of duty, from a love of *liberty,* of *order,* of *good* government, and of *America* my native country: Nor have my endeavours been without success. The *Free Thoughts* have answered my utmost expectation: They have been rapidly purchased, and eagerly read; and notwithstanding the *general indignation* of which you speak, I have had the satisfaction of hearing them commended and approved by many, very many sensible people, in the city, as well as in the country: And I doubt not they will contribute, among other causes, to the restoration of that order and peace in this province, which is the earnest wish of every *real* friend to America. I cannot but hope, that the time of this event is fast approaching. I see the influence of the Congress daily diminishing. Few committees are chosen in the country to carry their *decrees* into execution. The committee of New-York has been obliged to recede from an *exact* compliance with their *edicts,* that even the appearance of a compliance might be preserved: Why else do they permit the owners of goods imported, and which were ordered to be sold for the benefit of the Boston poor, to bid for their own goods, and have them struck off at an under rate?† Why are they obliged to permit the very best regulation the Congress did make, to be continually infringed, by the importation of Tea, Gin, &c. from Holland. These relaxations were necessary to cajole and take in the merchants, and therefore the committee complied: You thought it necessary to cajole and take in the Farmers, and therefore you

† I hope the duty upon goods sold at public auction, will be demanded on these sales, because that would bring something into the provincial treasury.

wrote your pamphlet. But have a care, "sweet Sir,"—pray was you in the nursery where the whole conversation turned on *sweeties* and *goodies,* when you luckily hit on this expression? Or did you find it in Johnson's Dictionary?—Have a care, I say, or we honest supporters of the laws and liberties of our country, shall finally get the better; reduce you and your party to peace and order, and make you good subjects in spite of your teeth. I, for my part, shall exert my little influence to accomplish so benevolent a purpose; and shall exercise my *pen* and hiccory *cudgel* in such a manner as I shall think most likely to effect it: And while I wield these weapons in defence of the laws of my country, and in such a way as they permit and will warrant, I fear neither your *answers* nor your *threats.* The first committee-man that comes to rob me of my Tea, or my wine, or molasses, shall feel the weight of my arm; and should you be the man, however lightly you may think of it, a stroke of my cudgel would make you reel, notwithstanding the thickness of your skull.

You begin your vindication with such an air of importance, and such pomposity of expression, as I scarce ever met with before.—"It was hardly to be expected that any man *could* be "so *presumptuous,* as *openly* to controvert the *equity, wisdom* "and *authority* of the measures adopted by the Congress: an "assembly truly respectable on *every* account!—whether we con- "sider the characters of the men, who composed it; the number "and dignity of their constituents, or the important ends for "which they were appointed."—Mere explosions of the wind of vanity! Three grains of consideration would have prevented such a sentence from ever seeing the light.

It has ever been esteemed the privilege of Englishmen to canvass freely, the proceedings of every branch of the legislature; to examine into all public measures; to point out the errors that are committed in the administration of the government, and to censure without fear the conduct of all persons in public stations, whose conduct shall appear to deserve it. The exercise of this right has always been considered as one of the grand pillars which support our present happy constitution. The liberty taken with the *King, Lords* and *Commons* in many late publi-

cations in England, must convince every man, that the English nation retains, unimpaired, this right of bringing the most respectable characters before the tribunal of the public: and is an incontestible proof that the nation is not enslaved. Nor is this privilege exercised with less freedom in America than England. Did not the Congress? Do not you yourself? Does not every pidler in politics, who calls himself a *son of liberty,* take the licence of censuring and condemning the conduct of the *King,* the *Lords,* and the *Commons,* the supreme sovereign authority of the whole British Empire? Blush then at your own effrontery, in endeavouring to intimidate your countrymen from exercising this Right with regard to the Congress.

The Congress, Sir, was founded in sedition; its decisions are supported by tyranny; and is it *presumption* to controvert its *authority?* In your opinion, they "are *restless spirits,*"— "enemies to the natural rights of mankind" who shall dare to speak against the *Congress,* or attempt to "diminish the influ- "ence of *their* decisions:" while *they* are friends to America, and to the natural rights of mankind, who shall traduce and slander the sovereign authority of the nation; contravene and trample under foot the laws of their country.

I have no inclination to scrutinize the characters of men, who composed the Congress. It is not the dignity of their private characters, but their public conduct as *Delegates* that comes under my examination. The manner in which they were chosen was subversive of all law, and of the very constitution of the province. After they had met they were only a popular assembly, without check or controul, and therefore unqualified to make laws, or to pass ordinances. Upon supposition that they had been chosen by all the people with one voice, they could be only the servants of the people; and every individual must have had a right to animadvert on their conduct, and to have censured it where he thought it wrong. *We* think, Sir, that we have a double right to do so, seeing they were chosen by a party only, and have endeavoured to tyrannize over the whole people.

You seem to think it very wrong that the Delegates should be called to any account, because "we did not, especially in this

"province, circumscribe them by any fixed boundary, and there-
"fore as they cannot be said to have exceeded the limits of their
"authority, their act must be esteemed the act of their constitu-
"ents."—Above you had said that "their decrees are binding
"upon all, and demand a religious observance." A little below you make them their *own judges,* whether they have done right or not. And you represent it as no small degree of *arrogance* and *self-sufficiency* for *any* individual to oppose his *private sentiments* to their *united counsels.*

I have looked at this paragraph at least ten times, and every time with astonishment. It is so superlatively arrogant and impudent, that I confess myself at a loss what to say to it. And here, least I should grow angry and forget it, I must observe once for all, that I verily believe the New-York Delegates were some of the very best who attended the Congress. I have been informed that they, for a long time, opposed the violent measures that were in agitation. I honour them for this opposition; and should almost have adored them, had they preserved their integrity to the end.—But evil communications corrupt good manners. Let no honest man hereafter trust himself at a Philadelphia Congress!

Not a hundredth part of the people of this province, Sir, had any vote in sending the Delegates, and do you imagine that they would take the trouble to *circumscribe* them, when they did not chuse to have any thing to do with them? The *juntos* indeed who sent them, acted the same foolish part in not *circumscribing* them, that they did in chusing them. But supposing all the people in the province had joined in sending them *uncircumscribed:* Were the Delegates at liberty to do as they pleased? To pursue the most violent measures? To stop up every avenue of accommodation with Great-Britain? And render our state ten times worse than they found it? Must all the province *religiously* observe their *wicked* decrees? And take all their *mad pranks* upon themselves, whether they will or not? To be sure they must: The Delegates were their *uncircumscribed* representatives.—I have heard often that the privileges of our representatives, were the privileges of the

people, but never till now that any absurd measures they might adopt were chargeable to their constituents.

Do you think, Sir, that because the Delegates were chosen by a *party,* that therefore they are accountable only to the *party* who chose them? You deceive yourself if you do. Every day will produce more *Free Thoughts,* and *Canvassings,* and *Examinations,* till their influence is totally destroyed, and their tyranny at an end.

The epithet of *restless spirits* you must take back to yourself and your party. The next time you write, bestow it where it is due;---on those who have wantonly employed themselves in fomenting disturbances in the colony, in creating and widening the disunion between the mother country and us, in order to advance their favorite republican plan.

I wish you had explicitly declared to the public your ideas of the *natural rights of mankind.* Man in a *state of nature* may be considered as perfectly free from all restraints of law and government: And then the *weak* must submit to the *strong.* From such a state, I confess, I have a violent aversion. I think the form of government we lately enjoyed a much more eligible state to live in: And cannot help regretting our having *lost* it, by the *equity, wisdom,* and *authority* of the Congress, who have introduced in the room of it, confusion and violence; where all must submit to the power of a mob.

You have taken some pains to prove what would readily have been granted you---that *liberty* is a very *good* thing, and *slavery* a very *bad* thing. But then I must think that liberty under a *King, Lords* and *Commons* is as good as liberty under a republican Congress: And that slavery under a republican Congress is as bad, at least, as slavery under a *King, Lords* and *Commons*: And upon the whole, that *liberty* under the supreme authority and protection of Great-Britain, is infinitely preferable to *slavery* under an American Congress. I will also agree with you, "that Americans are intitled to freedom." I will go further: I will own and acknowledge that not only *Americans,* but *Africans, Europeans, Asiaticks,* all men, of all countries and degrees, of all sizes and complexions, have a right to as much freedom as is consistent with the security of civil society:

And I hope you will not think me an "enemy to the *natural* "rights of mankind" because I cannot wish them more. We must however remember, that more liberty may, without inconvenience, be allowed to individuals in a small government, than can be admitted of in a large empire.

But when you assert that "since Americans have not by any "act of theirs impowered the British parliament to make laws "for them, it follows they can have no just authority to do it," you advance a position subversive of that dependence which all colonies must, from their very nature, have on the mother country.—By the British parliament, I suppose you mean the supreme legislative authority, the King, Lords and Commons, because no other authority in England has a right to make laws to bind the kingdom, and consequently no authority to make laws to bind the colonies. In this sense I shall understand, and use the phrase *British parliament.*

Now the dependence of the colonies on the mother-country has ever been acknowledged. It is an impropriety of speech to talk of an independent colony. The words *independency* and *colony,* convey contradictory ideas: much like *killing* and *sparing.* As soon as a colony becomes independent on its parent state, it ceases to be any longer a colony; just as when you *kill* a sheep, you cease to *spare* him. The British colonies make a part of the British Empire. As parts of the body they must be subject to the general laws of the body. To talk of a colony independent of the mother-country, is no better sense than to talk of a limb independent of the body to which it belongs.

In every government there must be a supreme, absolute authority lodged somewhere. In arbitrary governments this power is in the monarch; in aristocratical governments, in the nobles; in democratical, in the people; or the deputies of their electing. Our own government being a mixture of all these kinds, the supreme authority is vested in the King, Nobles and People, i. e. the King, House of Lords, and House of Commons elected by the people. This supreme authority extends as far as the British dominions extend. To suppose a part of the British dominions which is not subject to the power of the British legislature, is no better sense than to suppose a country, at one and

the same time, to be, and not to be a part of the British dominions. If therefore the colony of New-York be a part of the British dominions, the colony of New-York is subject, and dependent on the supreme legislative authority of Great-Britain.

Legislation is not an inherent right in the colonies. Many colonies have been established, and subsisted long without it. The Roman colonies had no legislative authority. It was not till the later period of their republic that the privileges of Roman citizens, among which that of voting in the assemblies of the people at Rome was a principal one, were extended to the inhabitants of Italy. All the laws of the empire were enacted at Rome. Neither their colonies, nor conquered countries had any thing to do with legislation.

The position that we are bound by no laws to which we have not consented, either by ourselves, or our representatives, is a novel position, unsupported by any authoratative record of the British constitution, ancient or modern. It is republican in its very nature, and tends to the utter subversion of the English monarchy.

This position has arisen from an artful change of terms. To say that an Englishman is not bound by any laws, but those to which the representatives of the nation have given their consent, is to say what is true: But to say that an Englishman is bound by no laws but those to which *he* hath consented in person, or by *his* representative, is saying what never was true, and never can be true. A great part of the people in England have no vote in the choice of representatives, and therefore are governed by laws to which they never consented either by *themselves* or by *their* representatives.

The right of colonists to exercise a legislative power, is no natural right. They derive it not from nature, but from the indulgence or grant of the parent state, whose subjects they were when the colony was settled, and by whose permission and assistance they made the settlement.

Upon supposition that every English colony enjoyed a legislative power independent of the parliament; and that the parliament has no just authority to make laws to bind them, this absurdity will follow—that there is no power in the British

empire, which has authority to make laws for the whole empire; i. e. we have an empire, without government; or which amounts to the same thing, we have a government which has no supreme power. All our colonies are independent of each other: Suppose them independent of the British parliament,—what power do you leave to govern the whole? None at all. You split and divide the empire into a number of petty insignificant states. This is the direct, the necessary tendency of refusing submission to acts of parliament. Every man who can see one inch beyond his nose, must see this consequence. And every man who endeavours to accelerate the independency of the colonies on the British parliament, endeavours to accelerate the ruin of the British empire.

To talk of being liege subjects to King George, while we disavow the authority of parliament is another piece of whiggish nonsense. I love my King as well as any whig in America or England either, and am as ready to yield him all lawful submission: But while I submit to the King, I submit to the authority of the laws of the state, whose guardian the King is. The difference between a good and a bad subject, is only this, that the one obeys, the other transgresses the law. The difference between a loyal subject and a rebel, is, that the one yields obedience to, and faithfully supports the supreme authority of the state, and the other endeavours to overthrow it. If we obey the laws of the King, we obey the laws of the parliament. If we disown the authority of the parliament, we disown the authority of the King. There is no medium without ascribing powers to the King which the constitution knows nothing of:—without making him superior to the laws, and setting him above all restraint. These are some of the ridiculous absurdities of American whiggism.

I am utterly at a loss what ideas to annex to the phrases—*dependence on Great-Britain;—subordination to the Parliament;—submission to the supreme legislative power;*—unless they mean some degree of subjection to the British Parliament; some acknowledgment of its right to make laws to bind the colonies.

Give me leave, Sir, to transcribe for your perusal, an extract

from a petition to the House of Commons, sent by the General Congress, who met at New-York the 19th of October 1765. Whether this Congress was equal in wisdom, dignity, and authority to that lately assembled at Philadelphia, you can determine for yourself: However that be, they express themselves thus;—"It is from and under the English constitution we derive all our civil and religious rites and liberties, we glory in being subjects of the best of Kings, and having been born under the most perfect form of government. We esteem our connections with, and *dependence* on Great-Britain as one of our greatest blessings, and apprehend the latter will appear to be sufficiently secure, when it is considered that the *inhabitants* in the colonies have the most unbounded affection for his Majesty's person, family and government; and that their *subordination to the Parliament* is *universally* acknowledged."

A still more respectable body, viz. the General Assembly of New-York, in the preamble to their resolutions of the 18th of December, 1765, declare;—"That they think it their indispensible duty to make a declaration of their faith and allegiance to his Majesty, King George the Third, and their *submission to the supreme legislative power,* and at the same time to *shew,* that the *rights claimed by them* are in *no manner inconsistent* with either."

You have utterly failed in proving that "The clear voice of "natural justice," and "the fundamental principles of the "English constitution," set us free from the subordination here acknowledged. Let us see the success of your next attempt.

You appeal to "our charters, the express conditions on which "our progenitors relinquished their native countries, and came "to settle in this," and our charters you say, "preclude every "claim of ruling and taxing us without our assent." Did you examine all the charters of the different colonies, before you made this bold assertion? I fear you did not read one of them.

I presume the province of New-York has no charter: at least I never heard of any. The *claim* then, of the Parliament, "of ruling and taxing *us* without our assent," is not precluded by charter.

The first charter granted by the crown of England, for the

purpose of colonization, is that of King James the first to the two Virginia companies. This, as it is explained and enlarged by another charter, dated only three years after, has the following clauses:—That the Governor and other magistrates and officers to be appointed by a Council residing in London, are vested with *full and absolute power and authority* to *correct, punish* and *pardon, govern* and *rule* all such the subjects of us, our heirs and successors, as shall from time to time adventure themselves in any voyage thither, or that shall at any time inhabit the precincts and territories of the said colony as aforesaid, according to such orders, ordinances, constitutions, directions, and instructions as *by our said Council* as aforesaid shall be established; and in default thereof, *in case of necessity,* according to the *good discretion* of *the said Governor and officers,* respectively; as well in cases *capital as civil,* both maritime and others; so always as the said statutes, ordinances and proceedings as near as conveniently may be, be agreeable to the laws, statutes, government and policy of this our realm of England. The treasurer and company are exempted from the payment of all duties and taxes for *seven years:* But a duty of two and a half *per cent.* is laid by the King upon all merchandize bought or sold within the precinct of the colony, by English subjects not of the colony, and an additional duty of two and an half *per cent.* more is laid upon all merchandize bought or sold therein by aliens or foreigners: and the revenue to arise from these duties is thus *appropriated by the King,* all which sums of money or benefit, as aforesaid, for and during the space of twenty-one years next ensuing the date hereof, shall be wholly employed to the use, benefit and behoof of the said several plantations where such traffic shall be made: and after the said twenty-one years, the same shall *be taken to the use of us, our heirs and successors,* by such officers and ministers as by us, our heirs and successors shall be thereunto appointed. In a clause of the second charter this duty is doubled, but it is explained to mean a duty of five *per cent.* upon goods imported, and five *per cent.* on goods exported by English subjects not of the colony, or allowed by the company, and ten

per cent. to be paid by aliens, *over and above such subsidy and custom as the said company is, or hereafter shall be, to pay.*

The territory granted by these charters to the two Virginia companies, extended from the latitude 34 to the latitude 45, which includes the whole country from the south boundary of Virginia to the frontiers of Nova-Scotia: and the first settlers in that part of the territory, now called New-England, settled under *those very charters,* having purchased the right so to do from one of these companies.

We find, also, that the New-England company's *having levied money on the inhabitants,* which their charter gave them no right to do, was one of the principal acts of delinquency alledged in the writ of *fieri facias,* issued against their charter in the 36th year of Charles the second, and upon which judgment was given in the Court of King's-Bench against the Governor and company of that colony, and their charter, thereon, taken away. And in their new charter granted by King William and Queen Mary, the power to levy taxes is restrained to provincial and local purposes only, and to be exercised over such only as are inhabitants and proprietors of the said province.

The Charters of Connecticut and Rhode-Island are simply matters of incorporation, viz. That they the said John Winthrope, &c. and all others as now, or hereafter shall be admitted and *made free of the Company* and Society of our Colony of *Connecticut,* in America (the same words are used in the charter of Rhode-Island) shall from this time and for ever after, be *one body corporate and politic,* in act and name, by the name of Governor and Company of the English colony of Connecticut, in New-England, in America; and that by the same they and their successors shall and may have perpetual succession, and shall and may be *persons able and capable in law* to *plead* and be *impleaded,* to *answer* and be *answered* unto, and to *defend,* and to be *defended* in all and singular *suits, causes, quarrels, matters, actions* and *things,* of what kind or nature soever. And also to have, take, possess, acquire, and purchase lands, tenements or hereditaments, or any goods or chattels, and the same to lease, grant, demise, alien, bargain, sell and dispose of, as *other* our liege people of this our realm of

England, or any *other* corporation or body politic within the same.

The charter of Pennsylvania contains the following clause: And further our pleasure is, and for these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, we do covenant and grant to, and with the said William Penn, &c. That we, our heirs and successors, shall at no time hereafter set or make, or cause to set any imposition, custom, or other taxation or rate, or contribution whatsoever, in and upon the dwellers and inhabitants of the aforesaid province, or their lands, tenements, goods or chattels, within the said province, or to be laden or unladen within the ports or harbours of the said province, unless the same be with the *consent* of the *Proprietors* or chief Governor or *Assembly,* or *by act of Parliament in England.*

These extracts abundantly prove that the colony charters by no means imply an independence on the supreme legislative authority of Great-Britain: they prove also, that you, Sir, was too hasty when you asserted, that "our charters precluded every "claim of ruling and taxing us without our assent." Great-Britain still retains the power of binding the colonies by such laws as she shall think necessary to secure and preserve the dependence of the colonies on the mother country;---to promote their particular welfare, or the welfare of the whole empire collectively.

That you will perceive the force of this reasoning, I pretend not to say. A person diseased with the jaundice sees no colour but yellow. Party heat, the fever of liberty, may for any thing I know, vitiate the mind, as much as the jaundice does the eyes. I flatter myself, however, that all reasonable Americans will feel its force; and will not be led by positive assertions without proof, nor declamatory harangues without argument, into rebellion against the supreme authority of the nation: Nor be beguiled of their present free and happy government, by the loud clamours of unrestrained licentiousness, under the specious name of liberty. Tyranny and slavery must be the consequence of the present system of conduct. If we wantonly throw off that subordination to the British Parliament, which our present state requires, we shall inevitably fall under the

dominion of some foreign tyrant, or the more intolerable despotism of a few American demagogues.

If it be said, that admitting the foregoing reasoning and authorities, yet the right of taxation will not follow, let it be considered, that in every government, *legislation* and *taxation,* or the right of raising a revenue, must be conjoined. If you divide them, you weaken, and finally destroy the government; for no government can long subsist without power to raise the supplies necessary for its defence and administration. It has been proved, that the supreme authority of the British empire extends over all the dominions that compose the empire. The power, or right of the British Parliament to raise such a revenue as is necessary for the defence and support of the British government, in all parts of the British dominions, is therefore incontestable. For if no government can subsist without a power to raise the revenues necessary for its support, then, in fact, no government can extend any further than its power of raising such a revenue extends. If therefore the British Parliament has no power to raise a revenue in the colonies, it has no government over the colonies, i. e. no government can support itself. The burthen of supporting its government over the colonies must lie upon the other parts of the empire. But this is unreasonable. Government implies, not only a power of making and enforcing *laws,* but defence and protection. Now protection implies tribute. Those that share in the protection of any government, are in reason and duty, bound to maintain and support the government that protects them: Otherwise they destroy their own protection; or else they throw an unjust burthen on their fellow-subjects, which they ought to bear in common with them. While therefore the colonies are under the British government, and share in its protection, the British government has a right to raise, and they are in reason and duty bound to pay, a reasonable and proportionable part of the expence of its administration.

The authority of the British Parliament, that is, of the supreme sovereign authority of the British empire, over the colonies, and its right to raise a proportional part of its revenue, for the support of its government, in the colonies, being

established; it is to be considered, what is the most reasonable and equitable method of doing it.

Notwithstanding the large landed estate possessed by the British subjects in the different parts of the world, they must be considered as a commercial, manufacturing people. The welfare, perhaps the existence of Great-Britain as an independent or sovereign state, depends upon her manufactures and trade: and many people in America think, that her manufactories and commerce depend in a great measure on her intercourse with her colonies; insomuch that if this should be neglected, her commerce would decline and die away; her wealth would cease, and her maritime power be at an end. If these observations be just, they establish the right of the *British parliament* to regulate the commerce of the whole empire, beyond possibility of contradiction, a denial of it would be a denial of a right in the British empire to preserve itself. They prove also that all parts of the British empire must be subject to the *British parliament,* for otherwise the trade of the *whole* cannot be regulated. They point out also the best mode of raising such a revenue as is necessary for the support and defence of the government, viz. by duties on imports and exports; because these are attended with the least inconveniency to the subject, and may be so managed as to raise a revenue, and regulate the trade at the same time.

Good policy will require, that the heavier duties be laid upon articles of luxury, especially foreign ones: and that as little as possible be laid upon the raw materials for manufactures, and upon our own exports.

The right of the British parliament to regulate the trade of the whole empire has been fully acknowledged by some of the warmest advocates for American liberty. The Pennsylvania Farmer, in his second letter, expresses himself fully to the point. "The parliament unquestionably possesses a legal au-"thority to regulate the trade of Great Britain, and all her "colonies. Such an authority is essential to the relation between "a mother country and her colonies, and necessary for the com-"mon good of all. He who considers these provinces, as *States* "*distinct from the British empire,* has very slender notions of

"*justice,* or of *their interests:* We are *but parts of a whole,* "and therefore there *must exist a power somewhere, to preside,* "*and preserve the connection in due order:* This power is "*lodged in the parliament.*" In the same letter, he says, that "we, the colonies, may be legally bound by *act of parliament,* "to pay any *general duties* relative to the regulation of trade, "is granted."

When it is considered, that Great Britain is a maritime power; that the present flourishing state of her trade, and of the trade of her colonies, depends in a great measure, upon the protection which they receive from her navy; that her own security depends upon her navy; and that it is principally a naval protection that we receive from her, there will appear a peculiar propriety in laying the chief burden of supporting her navy upon her commerce, and in requesting us to bear a part of the expence, proportional to our ability, and to that protection and security which we receive from it.

There are but two objections that can reasonably be made to what has been said upon this subject. The first is, that if the British parliament has a right to make laws to bind the whole empire, our assemblies become useless. But a little consideration will remove this difficulty.

Our assemblies, from the very nature of things, can have but a legated, subordinate, and local authority of legislation. Their power of making laws in conjunction with the other branches of the legislature, cannot extend beyond the limits of the province to which they belong. Their authority must be subordinate to the supreme sovereign authority of the nation, or there is *imperium in imperio:* two sovereign authorities in the same state; which is a contradiction. Every thing that relates to the internal policy and government of the province which they represent comes properly before them, whether they be matters of law or revenue. But all laws relative to the empire in general, or to all the colonies conjunctively, or which regulates the trade of any particular colony, in order to make it compatible with the general good of the whole empire, must be left to the parliament. There is no other authority which

has a *right* to make such regulations, or *weight* sufficient to carry them into execution.

Our Assemblies are also the true, proper, legal guardians of our *rights, privileges* and *liberties.* If any laws of the British Parliament are thought oppressive; or if, in the administration of the British government, any unnecessary or unreasonable burthen be laid upon us, *they* are the proper persons to seek for redress: And they are the most likely to succeed. They have the legal and constitutional means in their hands. They are the *real* not the *pretended* representatives of the people. They are bodies known, and acknowledged by the public laws of the empire. Their representations will be attended to, and their remonstrances heard.

To the honour of the Assemblies of this province, as far back as I am able to judge, be it spoken,—they have always discharged this duty with *fidelity, prudence* and *firmness;* and with such success, as ought to encourage us to rely upon their wisdom and good conduct, to deliver us from our present embarrassed state with our mother country; and from that abject slavery and cruel oppression which the tyranny of the late Congress has brought upon us.

Considered in this light they are a body, of real dignity, and of the utmost importance: And whoever attempts to lessen their influence, or disparage their authority, ought to be considered as an enemy to the liberties of his country. Had our present contests with Great-Britain been left to *their* management, I would not have said a word. But their authority is contravened and superseded by a power from without the province. Virginia and Massachusetts madmen, met at Philadelphia, have made laws for the province of New-York, and have rendered our Assembly *useless;* and unless they exert their proper authority with a spirit becoming their own dignity, *insignificant.*—Virginia and Massachusetts madmen? You'll exclaim! Aye, *madmen,—mad* beyond all doubt;—so *mad,* that an acre of Hellebore a piece will not cure them. Why do you fret, Sir!—They *talked* like madmen: They *acted* like madmen: They *raved* like madmen: They *did every thing* like madmen:—Then why not *call* them madmen?—Why not? Why!

they were the *representatives* of the people. And very fit representatives too. It could not be expected that *mad* people would send any other than *mad* representatives;— and *mad* work they made when they got together.

You, Sir, affect to consider the Gentlemen that went from this province to the Congress as the *representatives* of the province. You know in your conscience that they were not chosen by a hundredth part of the people. You know also, that their appointment was in a way unsupported by any *law, usage,* or *custom* of the province. You know also, that the people of this province had already delegated their power to the members of their Assembly, and therefore had no right to choose Delegates, to contravene the authority of the Assembly, by introducing a foreign power of legislation. Yet you consider those Delegates, in a point of light equal to our *legal* representatives; for you say, that "our *representatives* in General Assembly "cannot take any wiser or better course to settle our differences, "than our *representatives* in the Continental Congress have "taken."—Then I affirm, that our representatives ought to go to school for seven years, before they are returned to serve again. No wiser or better course? Then they must take just the course that the Congress have taken;—for a *worse,* or more *foolish,* they cannot take, should they try: If they act any way different from the Congress, they must act *better* and *wiser.*—But more of this by and by.

The other objection to what has been said upon the legislative authority of the British Parliament, is this: That if the Parliament have authority to make laws to bind the whole empire;—to regulate the trade of the whole empire;—and to raise a revenue upon the whole empire; then we have nothing that we can call our own:—By the same authority that they can take a penny, they can take a pound, or all we have got.

Let it be considered, that no scheme of human policy can be so contrived and guarded, but that something must be left to the integrity, prudence, and wisdom of those who govern. We are apt to think, and I believe justly, that the British constitution is the best scheme of government now subsisting: The rights and liberties of the people are better secured by it, than by any

other system now subsisting. And yet we find that the rights and liberties of Englishmen may be infringed by wicked and ambitious men. This will ever be the case, even after human sagacity has exerted its utmost ability. This is, however, not argument, that we should not secure ourselves as well as we can. It is rather an argument, that we should use our utmost endeavour to guard against the attempts of ambition or avarice.

A great part of the people in England, a considerable number of people in this province, are bound by laws, and taxed without their consent, or the consent of their representatives: for representatives they have none, unless the absurd position of a *virtual* representation be admitted. These people may object to the present mode of government. They may say, that they have nothing that they can call their own. That if they may be taxed a penny without their consent, they may be taxed a pound; and so on. You will think it a sufficient security to these people, that the representatives of the nation or province cannot hurt *them,* without hurting themselves; because, they cannot tax *them,* without taxing themselves. This security however may not be so effectual as at first may be imagined. The rich are never taxed so much in proportion to their estates as the poor: And even an equal proportion of that tax which a rich man can easily pay, may be a heavy burthen to a poor man. But the same security that these people have against being ruined by the representatives of the nation, or province where they live; the same security have we against being ruined by the British parliament. They cannot hurt us without hurting themselves. The principal profits of our trade center in England. If they lay unnecessary or oppressive burthens on it; or any ways restrain it, so as to injure us, they will soon feel the effect, and very readily remove the cause. If this security is thought insufficient, let us endeavour to obtain a more effectual one. Let it however be remembered, that this security has been thought, and found sufficient till within a short period; and very probably, a prudent management, and a temperate conduct on our part, would have made it permanently effectual.

But the colonies have become so considerable by the increase

of their inhabitants and commerce, and by the improvement of their lands, that they seem incapable of being governed in the same lax and precarious manner as formerly. They are arrived to that mature state of manhood which requires a different, and more exact policy of ruling, than was necessary in their infancy and childhood. They want, and are entitled to, a fixed determinate constitution of their own. A constitution which shall unite them firmly with Great-Britain, and with one another;---which shall mark out the line of British supremacy, and colonial dependence, giving on the one hand full force to the supreme authority of the nation over all its dominions, and on the other, securing effectually the rights, liberty, and property of the colonists.---This is an event devoutly to be wished, by all good men; and which all ought to labour to obtain by all prudent, and probable means. Without obtaining this, it is idle to talk of obtaining a redress of the grievances complained of. They naturally, they necessarily result from the relation which we at present stand in to Great-Britain.

You, Sir, argue through your whole pamphlet, upon an assumed point, viz: That the British government---the *King, Lords* and *Commons,* have laid a regular plan to enslave America; and that they are now deliberately putting it in execution. This point has never been proved, though it has been asserted over, and over, and over again. If you say, that they have declared their right of making laws, to *bind us in all cases whatsoever*: I answer; that the declarative act here referred to, means no more than to assert the supreme authority of Great-Britain over all her dominions.---If you say, that they have exercised this power in a wanton, oppressive manner;—it is a point, that I am not enough acquainted with the *minatiae* of government to determine. It may be true. The colonies are undoubtedly alarmed on account of their liberties. Artful men have availed themselves of the opportunity, and have excited such scenes of contention between the parent state and the colonies, as afford none but dreadful prospects. Republicans smile at the confusion that they themselves have, in a great measure made, and are exerting all their influence, by sedition and rebellion, to shake the British empire to its very basis, that they

may have an opportunity of erecting their beloved common wealth on its ruins. If greater security to our rights and liberties be necessary than the present form and administration of the government can give us, let us endeavour to obtain it; but let our endeavours be regulated by prudence and probability of success. In this attempt all good men will join, both in England and America: All, who love their country, and with the prosperity of the British empire, will be glad to see it accomplished.

Before we set out to obtain this security we should have had prudence enough to settle one point among ourselves. We should have considered what security it was we wanted;—what concessions, on the part of Great-Britain would have been sufficient to have fixed our rights and liberties on a firm and permanent foundation. This was the proper business of our assemblies, and to them we ought to have applied; and why we did not apply to them, no one tolerable reason can be assigned:---A business which *our* assembly, at least, is equal to, whether we consider their abilities as men, or their authority as representatives of the province; and a business, which, I doubt not, they would have executed with prudence, firmness and success.---I say nothing of the other assemblies on the continent, for I know little of them; only, that they were the proper persons to have managed this affair.

But we ran headlong to work, without ever considering the point we aimed at, or determining what the concessions were, with which we would be satisfied. Nor is this, indeed, so much to be wondered at. The present commotions were first excited, not by patriotism, but the selfishness of those merchants who had engrossed the tea-trade with Holland. All was quiet till *they* were alarmed by the design of sending the tea belonging to the East-India company, to be sold in the colonies. Then began the cry of liberty, which hath since been so loudly echoed, and re-echoed through the continent.

Nor have the steps we have since taken, been a whit more prudent, than the manner in which we set out.

Every man who wishes well, either to America or Great-Britain, must wish to see a hearty and firm union subsisting

between them, and between every part of the British empire. The first object of his desire will be to heal the unnatural breach that now subsists, and to accomplish a speedy reconciliation. All parties declare the utmost willingness to live in union with Great-Britain. They profess the utmost loyalty to the King; the warmest affection to their fellow-subjects in England, Ireland, and the West-Indies, and their readiness to do every thing to promote their welfare, that can reasonably be expected from them. Even those republicans, who with the destruction of every species and appearance of monarchy in the world, find it necessary to put on a fair face, and make the same declaration.

What steps, Sir, I beseech you, has the Congress taken to accomplish these good purposes? Have they fixed any determined point for us to aim at? they have, and the point marked out by them, is, *absolute* independence on Great-Britain;—a perfect discharge from all subordination to the supreme authority of the British empire.---Have they proposed any method of cementing our union with the mother country? Yes, but a queer one, viz. to break off all dealings and intercourse with her.—Have they done any thing to shew their love and affection to their fellow-subjects in England, Ireland, and the West-Indies?—Undoubtedly they have,—they have endeavoured to starve them all to death.—Is this *"Equity?"* Is this *"Wisdom?"* —Then murder is equity, and folly, wisdom.

I will here, Sir, venture to deliver my sentiments upon the line that ought to be drawn between the supremacy of Great-Britain, and the dependency of the Colonies. And I shall do it with the more boldness, because, I know it to be agreeable to the opinions of many of the warmest advocates for America, both in England and in the colonies, in the time of the stamp-act.—I imagine that if all internal taxation be vested in our own legislatures, and the right of regulating trade by duties, bounties, &c. be left in the power of the Parliament; and also the right of enacting all general laws for the good of all the colonies, that we shall have all the security for our rights, liberties and property, which human policy can give us: The dependence of the colonies on the mother country will be fixed on a firm

foundation; the sovereign authority of Parliament, over all the dominions of the empire will be established, and the mother-country and all her colonies will be knit together, in ONE GRAND, FIRM, AND COMPACT BODY.

I do not think my sentiments of so much weight, as to wish to obtrude them on the public. There are some reasons, however, in favour of the above scheme, which I beg leave to mention.

It seems to me to be agreeable to the sentiments delivered by the best friends of America, in the debates in the House of Lords, and House of Commons, upon the bill for repealing the stamp act. I have not these debates by me; but I remember particularly that though the present Earl of Chatham argued against the propriety of raising internal taxes in America, by virtue of an act of Parliament, yet he openly avowed the right of Parliament to regulate the trade of the colonies.

This is a scheme which we shall probably succeed in, if we attempt it with proper prudence and temper. It appears to me so reasonable in itself, that I am persuaded the justice of the nation will not refuse it, when applied for in a constitutional way. We shall also probably have many warm, and sensible advocates both among the Lords and Commons, to support our application.

If we grasp at too much, we shall lose every thing. The Parliament will never give up the right of regulating the trade of the colonies. If they meet with ever so much opposition from us, it will only make them the more sensible of the necessity of retaining and supporting their power. By insisting upon their relinquishing this right, we shall disoblige and lose our best friends in England. The people of this province thought themselves under so great obligations to Mr. Pitt, now Earl of Chatham, for the pains he took in getting the stamp-act repealed, that they erected his statue in New-York, to perpetuate their gratitude. Yet, if I remember right, he expresses himself, in his celebrated speech upon that occasion, in words that ought to make the deepest impression on us, at this time, I cannot pretend to quote exactly from memory. The expression I allude to, is to this purpose: "confine their trade and their "manufactures; exercise every power over them, except that

"of taking money out of their pockets." Another sentiment of his with regard to the colonies, is to this purpose; "if Great "Britain has no sovereign, supreme, legislative authority over "America, I would advise every landed gentleman among us, "to sell his estate, and go to that country." Can we expect that the Earl of Chatham will expose himself to ridicule and contempt, by supporting us in demands directly repugnant to his sentiments, delivered in the House of Commons? The misfortune is, that we have risen in our demands since that time, and now require so much, that no honest man in England, can abet or support us, in them.

This scheme will secure us from slavery, and too abject a dependence on our fellow-subjects in England. The Parliament can hurt us in no way but by an internal tax on our estates, without injuring the nation in an equal degree. If they lay unnecessary, or oppressive duties on trade, they will immediately feel the effect; and as soon as the cause is pointed out, they will, for their own sakes, remove it.

If we should succeed in depriving Great Britain of the power, of regulating our trade, the colonies will probably be soon at variance with each other. Their commercial interests will interfere; there will be no supreme power to interpose, and discord and animosity must ensue.

And upon the whole—if the Parliament can regulate our trade, so as to make it conduce to the general good of the whole empire, as well as to our particular profit; if they can protect us in the secure enjoyment of an extensive and lucrative commerce, and at the same time can raise a part of the revenue necessary to support their naval power, without which our commerce cannot be safe, every reasonable man, I should imagine, would think it best to let them enjoy it in peace; without descending to the mean, paltry, narrow, stupid design of the Congress, to have them all sworn, King, Lords and Commons, upon the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, that all the duties by them laid, are *bona fide,* intended as regulations of trade, and not to raise one single brass farthing, by way of revenue. Disdainful thought! You, Sir, may, if you please, pride yourself in this suspicious, jealous, parsimonious, stingy, contracted

disposition of the Congress; you may call it *equity, wisdom, dignity*: Be it my glory to have contributed, even in the smallest degree, to the honour, splendor, and majesty of the British empire. My ancestors were among the first Englishmen who settled in America. I have no interest but in America. I have not a relation out of it that I know of. Yet, let me die! but I had rather be reduced to the last shilling, than that the imperial dignity of Great Britain should sink, or be controlled by any people or power on earth.

But whatever mode may be thought proper to attempt the settlement of an American constitution in, and to heal the breach between the mother country and the colonies, the one adopted by the Congress is certainly deficient, both in point of prudence and efficacy. In the commotions occasioned by the stamp-act, we recurred to petitions, and remonstrances; our grievances were point-out, and redress solicited, with temper and decency. They were heard; they were attended to, and the disagreeable act repealed. The same mode of application succeeded with regard to the duties laid upon glass, painters colours, &c. You, say, indeed that our addresses on this occasion were "treated "with contempt and neglect." But I beseech you, were not our addresses received, read, and debated upon? and was not the repeal of those acts the consequence? The fact, you know, is as I state it. If these acts were not only disagreeable to the Americans, but were also "found to militate against the com-"mercial interests of Great-Britain," it proves what I have asserted above, that duties which injure our trade, will soon be felt in England, and then there will be no difficulty in getting them repealed.

Your next instance to prove the inefficacy of remonstrances and petitions, is taken from the application of the Boston assembly, against their governor; this, you say, "was treated with "the greatest indignity, and stigmatized as a *seditious, vexatious,* "and *scandalous libel.*" And yet, in truth, this petition was treated with all the regard that possibly could be paid to it. It was received by the King: the Governor, against whom the complaint was made, was called to a public tryal, before the only court where the cause was cognizable, the King in council.

The Boston assembly could not support their charge; and the Governor was acquitted. This you call *stigmatizing* their petition, as a *seditious, vexatious,* and *scandalous libel.* If it was so, why should not the court stigmatize it as such? If it was not so, why did not that assembly support their charge? They could as easily have sent a state of the facts upon which they grounded their complaint, and the evidence to support them, to England, as they sent the complaint: And if they did not do it, it is more than probable, that they had none to send.

Some people have got a strange way of complaining, petitioning, and remonstrating, in a manner that they know must fail, and then they make a great noise about the disregard with which their applications are treated. I wish I could see the petition of the late congress to the King. I will lay a pound to a penny, that it is exactly of this stamp.

There is also this reason why we should, at least, have tried the mode of petition and remonstrance, to obtain a removal of the grievances we complain of. The friends of America, in England, have strongly recommended it, as the most decent and probable means of succeeding. It would have given them a fair opportunity of becoming advocates in our cause, and of supporting us in all our just and reasonable demands. But by the hasty resolves and violent proceedings of the Congress, we have effectually prevented them from appearing in our behalf: and if the information from England be true, we have, by our haughty demands of independency on the supreme legislature of the nation, detached most of them from our interest, and forced them to take part against us.

It was to this circumstance I adverted, when, in the *Free Thoughts* I said in general terms, that the proceedings of the Congress would alienate the affections of the people in Great-Britain, and of friends, make them our enemies. You make light of this, and seem so confident of having the people of England at your devotion, that you imagine, as soon as your redoubtable Congress gives the word, they will spurn all the restraints of law and government, fly upon the parliament and ministry, and on them "revenge the evils they may feel,"---a

little time, Sir, will determine whether you, or I, judge right in this particular.

You talk much of the *justice, vigour, policy,* and *probable* success of the measures adopted by the Congress. I have shewn, and shall shew more fully, that it is highly improbable that they will succeed; and that they are not founded in good policy, but in arrant folly. Their vigour I must confess: But the misfortune is, they will be most vigorous to our own hurt. If a man puts a pistol to his breast and draws the trigger, the pistol will fire just as vigorously as if he turned the muzzle the other way, but the consequence will be very different.

The landed and trading interests of this country both depend principally upon our exports. If our exports should cease only for a year, not only the produce of our lands, but the lands themselves would sink amazingly in value. A great number of people would be out of employ, and stroling through the country, would become the wretched objects both of pity and dread. Thieves, robbers, and highwaymen would render life and property very precarious. We should then taste the sweets of *natural* liberty, and see the *natural* rights of mankind exemplified in dreadful instances. We should then have reason and leisure enough to repent of our folly, and lament that infatuation, which tempted us to *grasp* at the mere *shadow* of civil freedom, while we lost its real *substance.*

Every man of common sense must laugh at your scheme of clothing ourselves with our own manufactures. The folly of it is too glaring to escape observation.---Continue the non-importation; and the first winter after our English goods are consumed, we shall be starving with cold.---*Kill* your sheep ever so *sparingly,* keep every *weather,* as well as ewe, to increase the number, and improve the breed of sheep; make every other mode of farming subservient to the raising of sheep, and the requisite quantity of wool to cloth the inhabitants of this continent, will not be obtained in twenty years: If they increase only as they have done, not in fifty.

The cotton you speak of, must come from the southern colonies. Should Great-Britain block up our ports, how are we to

get it? Bring it by land? The expence I fear would be too great, at least for the poor.

Besides: who is to manufacture this wool and cotton after we have got it. The country people manufacture as much cloth as they can already; and you will find that it requires full as much *legerdemain* to *convert* an American sailor or ship-wright into a *spinster* or weaver, as to convert an English *clothier* into a *blacksmith.* The people of England, Sir, have this advantage over us, should our non-importation distress their manufactorers.---Every man may apply himself to labour on a farm, and would become expert enough at it, to get his bread. The price of grain would be much advanced in France, Spain, and in the Mediterranean, as soon as the supply from America was cut off. They could therefore have the greatest encouragement to raise, and export grain to foreign markets. But our people would not be employed in this way; for when our exports are stopped, our grain would become of little worth: And I imagine that our sailors, &c. will make no better physicians, parsons, lawyers, "philosophers, poets, painters, and musicians," than the English mechanics.

Let it also be considered that notwithstanding the present high cultivation of the lands in England, that kingdom is still capable of being improved by agriculture and commerce, so as to maintain double the number of people, that it does at present. Probably the emigrations to America and the East-Indies, have been the principal cause of preventing it hitherto.

With regard to the north part of Britain,—the ancient kingdom of Scotland, the improvements that have been made in it, particularly within the last thirty years, are amazing. The enterprizing spirit, and the persevering efforts of the people have opened an easy intercourse between all parts of the country, by means of the noblest roads and canals. A taste for the liberal arts and sciences has been a long time characteristic of the nation. And commerce hath enriched them to that degree, that I have heard it confidently asserted, that the single province of Virginia, owes the single city of Glasgow, at this very time, no less than two hundred thousand pounds sterling. To get rid of their enormous debt, at a stroke, may be the grand reason

why the Virginians are so ready to embrace any scheme that promises exemption from the British government.—Such an attempt may raise the indignation of the Scots against the Virginians, but not against the government. They have too long tasted the sweets of peace, order, agriculture, and a flourishing commerce: They have ever been attached to monarchy: They have got over those difficulties which a warm affection for a particular family involved them in, and for courage, abilities and loyalty are surpassed by no subjects of the British dominions.

To return: We once tried this manufacturing scheme in this province. All orders and degrees of people became enthusiastically fond of home-spun clothes. Our sheep and lambs were *killed* as *sparingly* as possible. The best encouragement was given to the artificers. How it succeeded the managers can inform you.

I mentioned the injustice and cruelty of one measure of the Congress, which I thought indicated a disposition to distress the people of Great-Britain, Ireland and the West-Indies, who had done us no injury. You, Sir, avow this design, and justify it in a way that does no honour, either to your head or your heart. You represent them as being *politically criminal*, because they have not endeavoured to *prevent the injuries* which, you say, the British Parliament has brought upon us, and are therefore to "be regarded, in some measure, as accomplices."—There is about as much propriety, justice and truth in this reasoning, as there would be in arguing your right to *starve* your neighbour, because he did not prevent your falling into a fever, though you would live after your own way, and never asked his assistance at all.

Are the Irish and West-Indians accountable for our mad freaks? Do you expect to extend the tyranny of the Congress over the whole British empire, by the mere legerdemain of calling it American freedom? Do you think that the Irish and West-Indians are, in *duty bound*, to enter into our non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreement, till all our grievances and complaints, real and pretended, are re-

moved? and that they deserve to be starved if they do not? Enjoy your folly and malevolence if you can.

You say, that "it is impossible to exculpate a people that "suffers its rulers to abuse and tyrannize over others." You will allow I presume, that the abettors and supporters of the present measures in America, are a numerous people: How will you exculpate them, who suffer their rulers, the Congress and Committees, rulers whom they themselves have appointed, "to abuse and tyrannize over others," in the most unwarrantable, illegal, and unheard of manner. All this, I suppose, is right. The *tyranny* of a mob, is the *freedom* of America: but if the people of England, Ireland, and the West-Indies, will not, at your command, rise and tear their rulers in pieces, they are perfect slaves: they cannot be exculpated: they deserve to be starved.

In Page *22*, you disdain the imputation, on the Congress, of endeavouring "to threaten, bully, or frighten any person into a "compliance with" your "demands," by exciting clamours and riots in England. Yet in the 14th page you openly declare, "that "the design of the Congress in their proceedings was, to influ- "ence the ministry to give up their enterprize; or otherwise, "to rouse the inhabitants of Great Britain, Ireland, and the "West-Indies, from their state of neutrality, and engage them "to unite with us in opposing the lawless hand of tyranny." And in page 21st, you give this reason why the non-exportation was put off to a distant period, viz. "The prospect of its taking "place, and of the evils attendant upon it, will be a prevailing "motive with the ministry to abandon their maglignant "schemes."—This, I think, is something like endeavouring to *bully* and *frighten* the ministry into a *compliance* with your demands, and implies something more than a seeming contradiction. To reconcile it may be a proper employment for your hours of leisure: At present please to attend me a little further.

There appears to me to be an error in your vindication, which is common to all the writers of your party. You over-rate the importance of these colonies to the British empire. You seem

to think that it depends entirely on our trade, whether it shall or shall not exist.

That as soon as we stop our imports, England will have no vent for her woolens, Ireland for her linens, nor the West-Indies for their sugars: that as soon as our non-importation takes place, Ireland will be without flax-seed, and the West-Indies without flour or lumber. The exportation of British manufactures to America is but small, compared with that to other parts of the world. The ships that trade to those colonies that are engaged in the present, unnatural dispute with their mother-country, however numerous they may appear in your eyes, bear but a small proportion to those which navigate the Thames, the Severn, &c. Ask any one capable of informing you, and you will soon be convinced, that but a small proportion of the Yorkshire cloth comes to this country. The estimate may easily be made by comparing the number of ships that sail from Hull, &c. to these colonies, with those that sail to the Baltic, and other parts of Europe.

Besides; the American market hath hitherto had the preference in England. They looked out for no vent for those articles which we wanted. Should their trade with us fail, very small concessions to Portugal, Russia, Turkey, &c. would open a vent for all they could send. I have no inclination to lessen our importance to the British empire. I acknowledge it to be considerable: but if we estimate it so high as to suppose that Great Britain could not subsist without us, or could not subsist in a happy and flourishing state, we deceive ourselves with fancied notions of our own consequence. Nor, Sir, did I ever attempt to declaim upon the "omnipotency and all-sufficiency of Great "Britain." These are *your* not *my* expressions. Great Britain may be a flourishing and powerful state, without being omnipotent. She may be happy, and prosperous, and have great resources, without being all sufficient. Whenever I attempt to declaim, as I know my abilities to be but moderate, I shall take care to choose a copious subject, and one that is founded in *"truth and reality;"* and the *omnipotency* and *all-sufficiency* of the late *Grand Continental Congress* shall by *my* theme, in preference to every other one. However, I believe it will be

most prudent for me, to leave the field of declamation to you. Your genius seems exactly fitted for making excurtions round its flowery borders; there you may select nosegays of the most odorous perfumes, and wear chaplets of never failing colours, to refresh and adorn, the patriotic heroes that lately met at Philadelphia.

Let us now pay a short visit to poor Ireland, another victim, devoted by the Congress to the infernal Gods, to render them propitious to sedition and rebellion. Where will Ireland find purchasers for her linens, so numerous and wealthy as we are? This is a question which you think will surpass the "profound "sagacity of Mr. A. W. Farmer," to answer. In truth, Sir, Mr. A. W. Farmer has sagacity enough to perceive that he is under no obligation to answer it at all. He knows, however, that the Irish can do just as well with their linens, upon their hands, as we can with our flax-seed upon ours. He knows also that we should suffer as much for the want of their linens, as they would for the want of our flax-seed. He knows also that there was a time when Ireland subsisted as many inhabitants as she does now, without any linen manufactury at all; and he knows that what has been done, may be done again. He knows, moreover, that these provinces used formerly to take all their linens from Holland and Germany. He knows that all the Dutchmen and Germans are not starved to death since that trade failed them. He knows that the Irish have as good a country to live in as either the Dutch or Germans. He knows that they are as capable of any science, or of any business, agriculture, commerce, navigation, manufactures, as any of their neighbours. He knows that they are a generous, hospitable, gallant-spirited, loyal people: and he knows that the Americans can neither force them into rebellion, nor starve them to death. "The pro- "found sagacity of Mr. A. W. Farmer," Sir, can "explore" so much knowledge as this. Nay, he knows a little more.

He knows that you are very much mistaken when you say, that the Irish cannot get a sufficient supply of flax-seed, except from these colonies. You seem to think that Ireland, at present buys up all the flax-seed that all the world can spare, and all the flax raised in the countries bordering on the Baltic. I have en-

quired of very good judges, they all assure me that a very considerable supply may be obtained from Holland, and from the Baltic; that Canada will probably attend to the cultivation of flax, especially if we should excite her to do it, by yielding up the Irish market; and then she would furnish a large quantity of seed. At worst, the Irish can give up the making of very fine linens, and then they can raise a sufficiency at home.

You think it probable that the *Dutch* will *with-hold* their seed, in order to advance their own manufactures; i. e. you wish the Dutch would join with you in distressing Ireland. What, I pray you, have the Irish done, that you are unwilling they should get a supply of flax-seed sufficient for their purpose, from any part of the world? What must they do to obtain your favour? Shall they *dethrone* the King, *kill* Lord North, and *blow up* the parliament?—Will *this* satisfy you? May they, upon these terms, get a little seed from Holland?—I believe they need not solicit your permission. You never yet knew a Hollander, who would withold any thing that would fetch him a good price.

Your malice against the West-Indians is little inferior to that against the Irish. Give me leave, Sir, to translate a paragraph in your 19th page, into plain English.—The West-Indians have no food but just from hand to mouth. Their lands are so valuable that they cannot afford to raise the necessaries of life: So rich, that nothing but sugar-canes will grow upon them: Not a grain of Indian corn; not a yam; nor a plantain: Not a pig, nor a fowl, can live upon them:—They can get no supply from Canada: The Canadians are an indolent, lazy, stupid, popish pack; they mind nothing but saying their prayers: The wheat they can spare, would not furnish a dozen West-Indians with bread: The West-India Islands swarm with *souls:* An hundred at least, to every two hundred acres of land: These *souls* will devour an immense quantity of food: If the Canadians would turn good protestant republicans, join the Congress; and rebel against the King, in ten or fifteen years they might do something;—"but in the mean time the West Indians might have "the satisfaction of starving:"—And to see them starve, I presume, would be a particular *satisfaction* to you.

But, as I love to disappoint malice, I have the particular satisfaction of informing you, that 350,000 bushels of wheat were exported from Quebeck the last year; and that above 50,000 bushels remained on hand, for want of ships to carry it off; and that the quantity raised this year, greatly exceeds that of the last.—This is a sure indication of the indolence of the Canadians:—A manifest proof that they "have not improved their "country as they *ought* to have done."—They, it seems, have been *raising* wheat, when they *ought* to have been *raising rebellion*.—Indolent, stupid puppies!

Now, Sir, I imagine, that 400,000 bushels of wheat a year, would do something towards supplying our West-India islands with bread; and though it would be popish wheat, and probably not quite so good as that which the West-Indians used to get from the protestant fields of Pennsylvania and New-York, yet probably they may be prevailed upon to eat a little of it, rather than give you the satisfaction of seeing them *starve*.

I have also the pleasure of informing you, that there is now, more lumber annually shipped from Quebec, than from any colony on the continent. This, with what would come from the Mississippi, the Floridas, and what the Islands themselves afford, would be more than sufficient for all their purposes.—Horses they cannot want, while Canada abounds in such numbers.

Upon the whole then, I must abide by my first opinion, viz. that our schemes of non-importation, &c. will not distress England, Ireland, or the West-Indies, so far as to oblige them to join their clamours with ours, to get the acts, we complain of, repealed.

It has been several times objected against the present violent mode of proceeding in America, that it cuts off all prospect of a peaceable accommodation with our mother country. You get rid of this objection, by informing us, that the Congress "have "petitioned his Majesty for the redress of grievances."

Do you remember, Sir, how much pains you have taken, to prove that *petitioning* would do no good: That our petitions ever had been treated with contempt and neglect, even when presented "in the most loyal and respectful manner, in a legis-

"lative capacity."---And yet now, after you have entered into the most hostile combinations against the British state: endeavoured, by distressing and starving the Irish and the West-Indians, to make them take part in your rebellion; attempted to excite tumults and seditions in Great-Britain and Quebec by inflammatory addresses to the people; disavowed your dependence on, and submission to the authority of the supreme legislature of the nation,---you think a petition from an illegal, unknown Congress which may probably do every thing you want to have done.---Under these circumstances, to present a petition to his Majesty, is offering a petition to him with one hand, while you hold a sword to his breast, with the other. And yet you ask---"Can a pretext be wanting, in this case, to "preserve the dignity of the parent state, and yet remove the "complaints of the colonies? How easy would it be to over-"look our particular agreements, and grant us redress in conse-"quence of our petitions? It is easy to perceive there would be "no difficulty in this respect."---If you have any modesty left, hold down your head, Sir, and blush.

After this instance of your consummate assurance, I can no longer wonder at your effrontery in calling it "the grossest "infatuation of madness itself"---"frantic extravagance"---should Great-Britain attempt to support her authority over the colonists by the sword.

It has been the constant practice of your party to preach up the improbability of Great-Britain's attempting to reduce the colonies to obedience, by force, But suppose Great-Britain should estimate the colonies as highly as you do, and should consider them as being absolutely necessary to her very existence, as an independent, flourishing state. As soon as the proceedings of the Congress are known to her, she must perceive that there is no way to bring the colonies back to their obedience, but force. Had a proper representation been made;—and the proper persons to have done this were our Assemblies,—the supreme authority of Great-Britain acknowledged; and upon that footing a repeal of the acts complained of solicited; Great-Britain, I doubt not, would have attended to us, and would have done what she thought just and reasonable. She might have

been induced to have made some concessions for peace-sake, even though there had been some hectoring and bullying, and schemes of non-importation, &c. among the people. This was just the case in the time of the stamp-act, and yet the disorders and confusions, and non-importations of that period never drew the resentment of the nation upon us. Is this the reason why you think it improbable that Great-Britain will now recur to force?—Consider the case is altered. The *grand* Congress, the *piddling* Committees through the continent, have *all* disclaimed their subjection to the sovereign authority of the empire: They deny the authority of Parliament to make any laws to bind them, all. They claim an absolute independency.

Now what concessions, can Great-Britain make, that would satisfy you and your party? She has it not in her power to make any—were she even desirous of doing it, and willing to sacrifice her own honour and dignity, to gratify your humours. She has no choice but to declare the colonies independent states, or to try the force of arms, in order to bring them to a sense of their duty. This is the wretched state to which your adored Congress have reduced us: and for which they deserve the *curse* of every inhabitant of America. No alternative is left us, but either to renounce *their* measures, or to plunge headlong into rebellion and civil war.

The true reason why the Congress did not petition the two Houses of Parliament was,—I know it as well as if I had been one of the Delegates—because they denied, and were determined to persist in denying, the authority of the Parliament: And petitioning would be owning of it. You, Sir, gave a false reason. You cannot name an instance of any petition to either House of Parliament from any legal body of men in America, ever having been "treated with contempt or neglect;" unless you construe "the not granting a petition, a contempt of it."

You affect on every occasion to display "the omnipotency and "all-sufficiency" of those colonies which have entered into *the* solemn league and covenant against Great-Britain. You mention the considerable numbers of their men—400,000, I think your *Generalissimo* rates them at—their valour, and bloody disposition in the cause of liberty. I wish you had told us what

resources the colonies have, to pay, cloath, arm, feed these considerable numbers:—who are to levy the taxes necessary to defray the expence of these articles? Whether that is to be the business of the next congress.

On the other hand you always speak of Great-Britain, as of some pitiful state just sinking into obscurity.—You mention the small number of her troops in America;—the decay of her commerce;—the decrease of her revenue;—her luxury,—national debt, &c.—the danger lest the neighbouring states should all fall upon her, should she venture in a military way to send across the Atlantic.—And then—"Ruin like a deluge, would pour,"—pour! a *deluge* pour!—A tea-pot can do as much as that—would *wheel,* and *boil,* and *foam,* and *thunder* "in from every "quarter."

Do you think, Sir, that Great-Britain is like an old, wrinkled, withered, worn-out hag, whom every jackanapes that truants along the streets may insult with impunity?—You will find her a vigorous matron, just approaching a green old age; and with spirit and strength sufficient to chastise her undutiful and rebellious children. Your measures have as yet produced none of the effects you looked for: Great Britain is not as yet intimidated: She has already a considerable fleet and army in America: More ships and troops are expected in the spring: Every appearance indicates a design in her to support her claim with vigour. You may call it *infatuation, madness, frantic extravagance,* to hazard so small a number of troops as she can spare, against the thousands of New England. Should the dreadful contest once begin—But God forbid! Save, heavenly Father! O save my country from perdition!

Consider, Sir, is it right to risk the valuable blessings of property, liberty and life, to the single chance of war? Of the worst kind of war—a civil war? a civil war founded on rebellion? Without ever attempting the peaceable mode of accomodation? Without ever asking a redress of our complaints, from the only power on earth who can redress them? When disputes happen between nations independent of each other, they first attempt to settle them by their ambassadors; they seldom run hastily to war, till they have tried what can be done by

treaty and mediation. I would make many more concessions to a parent, than were justly due to him, rather than engage with him in a duel. But we are rushing into a war with our parent state, without offering the least concession; without even deigning to propose an accomodation. You, Sir, have employed your pen, and exerted your abilities, in vindicating and recommending measures which you know must, if persisted in, have a direct tendency to produce and accelerate this dreadful event. The congress also foresaw the horrid tragedy that must be acted in America, should their measures be generally adopted, why else did they advise us—"to extend our views to *mournful* "events, and be in *all* respects prepared for *every* contingency?"

May God forgive *them,* but may he confound *their* devices: and may he give *you* repentance and a better mind!

I come now, Sir, to consider your address to the farmers; and I very much suspect that you wish I would take as little notice of it as possible. Indeed I shall not keep you much longer under correction, for I believe you are pretty sore.

You begin your address as though you was confoundedly afraid the farmer would not believe you. You judged right. They will scarce believe any thing you have said to them, except, that you are no farmer: and *that* you had no need to have said; your address proclaims it. You make violent protestations of your love and regard to truth. You do right; the farmers else would have thought that you had no regard to truth at all. Almost every paragraph contains half a dozen fibs. Let me try the first, as it is most handy. You say, that you "love "to speak the truth:" *One,*—that you *scorn to "prejudice"* the farmers "in favour of what you have to say:" *two;* "by taking "upon you a fictitious character:" *three;*—for you subscribe yourself *a friend to America:*—that I am not in reality a "farmer:" *four;*—but "some ministerial emissary:" *five;*—"that has assumed the name to deceive:" *six;*—the very next words contain another, but I will stop, or I shall betray my inability to enumerate more than nine figures.

You give me a hint about swearing: I have profited by it, and intend never to swear more. I wish you would take a hint

about fibbing: It is rather a meaner quality than that of rapping out a little now and then. What got into you to insinuate that the people in England paid four shillings in the pound upon the value of their farms?---That they give a tenth part of the yearly products of their lands to the clergy?---That they pay 10s. sterling per annum for every waggon wheel? A shilling or two for every pane of glass? and two or three shillings for every hearth? Did you expect that all this vile falsehood, and dirty misrepresentation would pass off without examination? If you know any thing about the matter, (and if you do not, you should have said nothing about it,) that the land tax in England is not laid upon the value of the estate, but upon the rent: and that the rent is now estimated as it was in king William's reign; so that though the tax is sometimes *nominally* four shillings in the pound on the rent, yet it *really* is not half that sum.---And if the people in England *give* a tenth part of the yearly product of their lands to the clergy, what is that to you? They, I suppose may *give* without asking your leave.---A tax is laid in England, upon wheel-carriages that are kept for pleasure, such as coaches, chariots &c. but no tax on farmers carts, waggons, &c. There is also a tax on window lights and hearths; because that was thought the most equitable method of laying an even tax on houses: but you know in your conscience that it does not amount to any thing like the sum you have mentioned.

Your next attempt is upon the imaginations of the farmers. You endeavour to fright them from obeying the parliament, by representing to them the danger of having taxes laid upon their tables, and chairs, and platters, and dishes, and knives and forks, and every thing else--and "even every kiss their daughters received from their sweet-hearts," and *that,* you say, would soon *ruin* them. No reflections, Sir, upon farmers daughters: they love kissing, 'tis true, and so did your mother, or you would scarce have made your appearance among us.

But I have a scheme worth all this table, and chair, and kiss taxing. I thought of it last night, and I have a violent inclination to write to Lord North about it, by the very next packet. It pleases me hugely, and I think, must please his Lordship, as it

would infallibly enable him to pay the annual interest of the national debt, and I believe, to sink principal and all in fourteen years. It is no more than a moderate tax of four pence a hundred, upon all the fibs, falsehoods and misrepresentations of you and your party, in England and America.

You next endeavour to exculpate the town of Boston with respect to the East-India company's tea that was destroyed there; and to throw an odium on the parliament for interfering in the matter. But on this subject you have my free consent to declaim till you are weary. If we except the worshippers of the congress, the universal opinion is, that the destroying of the tea at Boston, was a flagrant act of injustice, and deserving of correction: and that the refusal of the town to pay for it, is foolish and unjustifiable.

From Boston you skip to Canada, and there open another battery against the parliament. In Canada, every thing is worse than bad, as you say. French laws, popery, arbitrary power are all joined together by your magical pen, and form a most *cerberian* appearance. But, Sir, I can read an act of parliament, at least, as well as you can; and I affirm that the *Romish faith* is not established in the province of Quebec. The Canadians are only indulged in that *exercise* of their religion which they stipulated for, when they surrendered their country to his Majesty's General, the *church of England* is the established religion; and a better provision is made for her, than in any other colony to the north of Maryland. The French laws are only to be in use till the inhabitants are better reconciled to the laws of England. These last will be gradually introduced by their own legislature. Their own legislature have also the power of introducing trials by a jury, and the *habeas corpus* act, whenever they think they can be introduced with advantage.*

You say that "it is a false assertion, that the merchants have "imported more than usual this year." I have the very best authority to support me in affirming that they have imported this season double the quantity that they did last autumn. I affirm also, that many of them would have imported more than they

* A. W. begs leave to recommend a pamphlet, entitled, the justice and equity of the Quebec Bill, &c.

have done, could they have got credit: but their correspondents were fearful of trusting their property in America under its present circumstances. The merchants, Sir, have in a general way, imported all that they could import: and they will sell, all that they can sell: and they will get by their sales, all that they can get. And had they not countenanced this non-importation scheme with a view to their own private gain, I would not have blamed them.

According to your opinion the merchants and tradesmen "are "the people that would be hurt most, by putting a stop to com- "merce." With regard to merchants, Sir, a non-importation once in ten years, would be highly beneficial to them. It would enable them to get rid of all their old moth-eaten, rat-eaten, worm-eaten, goods, at a high price: and would procure a quick sale for the next importation.

But you encourage the farmers, and address yourself to them in these smooth words of deceit,——"within eighteen months, "the goods we have among us will be consumed;"---O how I shudder with the thoughts of the next winter!---"and then the "materials for making cloaths must be had from you. Manu- "factures must be promoted with vigour, and a high price will "be given for your wool, flax and hemp."—How, Sir! I thought the congress had prohibited the asking of a high price for home-made manufactures: how then shall we get a high price for the materials of which those manufactures are made? But you go on, urging us to kill our sheep sparingly,---"you can "apply more of your land," say you to us, "to raising flax and "hemp, and less of it to wheat, rye," &c. And in direct opposition to the decree of the congress, you promise us "a great "deal higher price" for these articles than usual. But, Sir, we sow already as much flax as we can conveniently manage. Besides: flax will not succeed well on every piece of land: It requires a rich, free soil: nor will the same ground, in this country, produce flax a second time, till after an interval of five or six years.——If the measures of the congress should be carried into full effect, I confess we may, in a year or two, want a large quantity of hemp for the use of the executioner. But I fear

we must import it. It exhausts the soil too much to be cultivated in the old settled parts of the province.

You also endeavour to persuade us, that the price of provisions will rise, as soon as the exportation ceases:---this may be *good logic,* as you great scholars call it, but it is horridly *bad reasoning.* The price of provisions is sinking already. Our pork this year will not pay for the Indian corn consumed in the fatting of it. And when all navigation is at an end, it will fetch still less. But probably the Congress intended to keep the provisions in the country, to feed that same army of 400,000 men who are to fight the King's troops.

You give us the security of your word that "no violence can, "or will be used to shut up the courts of justice."---You are a man of great consequence, Sir! lately dubbed a committee-man, I presume, from the airs of importance you give your self. But let us see how the matter is to be managed.---"If the next con- "gress should think any regulations concerning the courts of "justice requisite, THEY WILL MAKE THEM; and proper persons "will be appointed to carry them into execution, and to see, "that no individual deviates from them."---So, now the mask is off: now the cloven foot is thrust out into open light. In May next the grand American republic is to be *licked* into shape, and fitted to govern the colonies. The congress have already usurped the authority of legislation over all the colonies: they dispose of the militia, direct our commerce, levy taxes for the support of the poor saints of Boston, regulate our diversions, direct what we shall eat, drink, wear, speak and think, and in May next, are to take the management of the courts of justice. ——You disclaim the thought of erecting a common-wealth in America. Why, Sir, by your own account the affair will be completed in May next. *Then* our whole constitution is to be finally destroyed; our trials by juries taken away; our courts of justice shut; our legislature rendered useless; our laws overturned;---in order to make room for an American republic, on a true democratical plan: and then you will laugh at those simple people who believed you ever intended to do otherwise.

Now we are on this subject of a common wealth, pray let me ask you, whether you have never heard it whispered about, that

it was seriously proposed in the late congress, to throw off all connection with Great Britain, and to erect two republics, one in the eastern, the other in the southern colonies; or something equivalent? Whether, when the New-York delegates opposed some violent measures, a gentleman from the eastward did not remark, that the backward conduct of the York delegates was easily accounted for, because they knew that the old charter of Massachusetts-Bay covered all this province? And whether some minutes of the proceedings of the congress were not cut out of the book, a little before they broke up? Let the gentlemen tell the *truth,* the *whole* truth, and *nothing* but the truth, and then we shall know what we have to trust to. These are questions that I have a right to ask; and the public has a right to be informed, whether there is any truth in the report that have occasioned them.

A. W. Farmer.

December 24, 1774.

The following Pamphlets, relating to the present Controversy between Great-Britain, *and the* Colonies, *are to be had of*

JAMES RIVINGTON

Who, upon application to him, by Letters, Post paid, will immediately send orders completely executed to any part of America, and the West-Indies.

1 Free Thoughts on the Proceedings of the Continental Congress,

Held at Philadelphia, Sept. 5, 1774.

WHEREIN their Errors are exhibited, their Reasonings confuted, and the fatal Tendency of their Non-Importation, Non-Exportation, and Non-Consumption Measures, are laid open to the plainest Understandings, and the only Means pointed out for preserving and securing our present happy Constitution.

By the FARMER, A. W.

2 A full Vindication of the Measures of the Continental Congress,

IN ANSWER TO

Free Thoughts on the Proceedings of the said Congress, In which his Sophistry is exposed, his Cavils confuted, his Artifices detected, and his Wit ridiculed,

In a General Address

To the Inhabitants of America.

3 The Congress Canvassed,

OR,

An Examination into the Conduct of the Delegates,

At the Grand Continental Congress,

Addressed to the Merchants of New-York,

By the FARMER, A. W.

4 A Friendly Address to all Reasonable Americans,

On the Subject of Our Political Confusions.

5 The Other Side of the Question:

Or, A Defence of the Liberties of North-America.

IN Answer to a late Friendly Address to all Reasonable Americans, on the Subject of Our Political Confusions.

6 Strictures on A Pamphlet, entitled,
A "Friendly Address to all Reasonable Americans, on the Subject of our Political Confusions." Supposed to be Written by General Lee.

7 Considerations on the Nature and the Extent of the Legislative Authority of the British Parliament.

8 The Causes of the present Distractions in America explained.

9 Short Advice to the Counties of New-York.
By a COUNTRY GENTLEMAN.

10 Dr. Priestley's Address on Public Liberty in General, and American Affairs in Particular.

11 The Poor Man's Advice to his Poor Neighbours,
On the Publication of the Proceedings of the Congress,
A Ballad, to the Tune of Chevy-Chace.

12 A Dialogue between a Southern Delegate and his Spouse, on his Return from
The GRAND CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.
Inscribed to the married Ladies of America.

13 In the Press, and Speedily will be Published,
What think ye of the CONGRESS?
O R,

An Enquiry how far the Americans are bound to abide by, and execute the decisions of the late Congress.

☞ *Large allowance will be made to the Purchasers by the Dozen, of the above articles, to give away.*

Whig; but by a suddain and unexpected Revolution, the Liberty of the Press was totally destroyed, and nothing could be printed on the side of Government.

The above note by Dr. T. B. Chandler of Elizabeth Town, who refers to the circumstance of Rivington's types being taken away and destroyed by Captain Isaac Sears with a party from Connecticut.

AN ALARM *to the* LEGISLATURE OF THE Province of New-York, OCCASIONED BY The preſent Political Diſturbances, IN *NORTH AMERICA:*

ADDRESSED To the Honourable Repreſentatives IN GENERAL ASSEMBLY CONVENED.

Salus populi ſuprema lex eſto.

NEW-YORK:
Printed for JAMES RIVINGTON,
M,DCC,LXXV.

AN

A L A R M

TO THE

LEGISLATURE, &c.

Honourable Gentlemen,

WHEN you reflect upon the present confused and distressed state of this, and the other colonies, I am persuaded, that you will think no apology necessary for the liberty I have taken, of addressing you on that subject. The unhappy contention we have entered into with our parent state, would inevitably be attended with many disagreeable circumstances, with many and great inconveniences to us, even were it conducted on our part, with *propriety* and *moderation.* What then must be the case, when all proper and moderate measures are *rejected?* When not even the *appearance* of decency is regarded? When nothing seems to be consulted, but how to perplex, irritate, and affront, the *British Ministry, Parliament, Nation* and *King?* When every scheme that tends to *peace,* is branded with *ignominy;* as being the machination of slavery! When nothing is called FREEDOM but SEDITION! Nothing LIBERTY but REBELLION!

I will not presume to encroach so far upon your time, as to attempt to point out the *causes* of our unnatural contention

with *Great Britain. You* are well acquainted with them.— Nor will I attempt to trace out the *progress* of that *infatuation,* which hath so deeply, so miserably, infected the *Colonies. You* must have observed its rise, and noted its rapid growth. But I intreat your patience and candour, while I make some *observations* on the *conduct* of the Colonies in *general,* and of *this* Colony in *particular,* in the present dispute with our *mother country:* By which it will appear, that *most,* if not *all* the measures that have been adopted, have been *illegal* in their *beginning, tyrannical* in their *operation,*— and that they *must* be *ineffectual* in the *event.*

It is the happiness of the *British Government,* and of all the *British Colonies,* that the people have a right to share in the legislature. This right they exercise by choosing *representatives;* and thereby constituting one branch of the legislative authority. But when they have chosen their representatives, that right, which was before diffused through the whole people, centers in their *Representatives alone;* and can legally be exercised by *none but them. They* become the guardians of the lives, the liberties, the rights and properties, of the people: And as *they* are under the most sacred obligations to discharge their trust with *prudence* and *fidelity,* so the *people* are under the strongest obligations to treat them with *honour* and *respect;* and to look to *them* for redress of all those grievances that they can justly complain of.

But in the present dispute with Great Britain, the *representatives of the people* have not only been *utterly disregarded,* but their *dignity* has been *trampled upon,* and their *authority contravened.*

A Committee, chosen in a *tumultuous, illegal* manner, usurped the most *depotic authority* over the *province.* They entered into contracts, compacts, combinations, treaties of alliance, with the other colonies, without *any* power from the *legislature of the province.* They agreed with the other Colonies to send Delegates to meet in convention at Philadelphia, to de-

termine upon the *rights and liberties of the good people of this province,* unsupported by any Law. They issued notifications to the several supervisors through the colony, desiring them to *assemble the people,* in order to choose committees, to choose Delegates to represent them in the Congress. They directed, or encouraged, or abetted a *mob,* in perpetrating a crime, which the laws of the province forbid, under the severest penalty, viz: the robbing Captain Etherington, an Officer in his Majesty's service, of a number of *sheep,* which he had purchased, to carry with him to St. Vincent's. They had the *insolence* to direct the manner in which the Delegates should be chosen in the *counties:* And the *greater* insolence, to count all the *friends to order and good government,*—those namely, who did not choose to obey their seditious mandate,—as being of *their party,* and as acquiescing in the *New-York choice.*

When the Delegates had met at Philadelphia, instead of settling a reasonable plan of accommodation with the parent country, they employed themselves in censuring acts of the British parliament, which were principally intended to prevent *smuggling,* and all *illicit trade;*—in writing addresses to the people of *Great-Britain,* to the inhabitants of the *colonies* in *general,* and to those of the *province of Quebec,* in *particular;* with the *evident design* of making them *dissatisfied with their present government;* and of *exciting clamours,* and raising *seditions* and *rebellions* against the *state;*—and in exercising a *legislative authority over all the colonies.* They had the insolence to proclaim themselves "A FULL AND FREE REPRESENTATION OF"—"HIS MAJESTY'S FAITHFUL SUBJECTS IN ALL THE COLONIES "FROM NOVA-SCOTIA TO GEORGIA;" and, as such, have laid a *tax* on all those colonies, viz. the *profits* arising from the *sales of all goods* imported from Great-Britain, Ireland, &c. during the months of December and January: Which *tax* is to be employed for the *relief* of the *Boston poor.* They adopted a *mad set of resolves,* framed by an *arch rebel,* who hath since *fled his country,* for fear of being apprehended, and imposed afterwards upon the deluded people of the county of *Suffolk* in the province of *Massachusetts-Bay; approving* their wisdom

and fortitude, and *recommending* "a perseverance in the same "firm and *temperate* conduct, as expressed in the" said resolves, ---notwithstanding those resolves entirely unhinged the *civil government* of that *province,* fomented a *spirit of dissatisfaction to Great-Britain, and of rebellion* against the *state;* and declared that the people of that county would not act always on the *defensive,* against the King's troops.

I must beg leave to enumerate a few of the *effects* of the measures of the Congress.—The government of *Rhode-Island* have dismantled the fort in their harbour, and carried off the cannon, in order to employ them *against his Majesty's forces.* The inhabitants of *New-Hampshire* have, under the command of Major SULLIVAN, one of the *Delegates, attacked,* and by *force of arms taken* a FORT at *Portsmouth,* belonging to his Majesty, and carried off all the powder and small arms found in it. The people of *Maryland* have had a *provincial Congress* who have assessed that colony in the sum of £. 10,000, to be expended in arming and disciplining the inhabitants, to *fight against the King.* The people in *New-England* are raising, arming and disciplining men, for the same *loyal* and *christian* purpose. The people of *New-York* have, in obedience to the Congress, chosen a *new Committee,* consisting of no less than SIXTY persons; to act, first, in the capacity of tax-gatherers, to collect the duties imposed by the *Congress* for the benefit of the *Boston poor,* by *distress and sale of the goods* imported during the last and the present month: and secondly, as *spies* and *informers;* to see that the non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation schemes, decreed by the *Congress,* be carried into *due execution.*

By the first of these schemes, we are in danger of being deprived of *many* of the *comforts,* and of *some* of the *necessaries* of life. We lie at the mercy of the merchants, who may strip us of *every farthing,* by demanding what *they* shall think *only a reasonable profit* on their goods. By the second, our very mode of living is made subject to their inspection; and we shall probably soon see these lordly Committee-men condescend to

go pimping, and peeping, and peering, into tea-canisters and molasses jugs. By the third scheme, an *embargo* is to take place, after the tenth of September next, on all *the farmers produce* of EVERY KIND. So that should their whole plan be carried fully into execution, the laborious, necessary and numerous *body of* FARMERS would soon be reduced to distress and beggary.

The state to which the GRAND CONGRESS, and the *subordinate Committees,* have reduced the colonies, is *really deplorable.* They have introduced a *system* of the most *oppressive tyranny* that can possibly be imagined;—a *tyranny,* not only over the *actions,* but over the *words, thoughts,* and *wills,* of the *good people of this province.* People have been threatened with the *vengeance of a mob,* for speaking in support of *order* and *good government.* Every method has been used to intimidate the *printers* from publishing any thing, which tended to *peace,* or seem'd in favour of government; while the most *detestable libels* against the *King,* the *British parliament,* and *Ministry,* have been *eagerly read,* and *extravagantly commended,* as the *matchless productions* of some *heaven-born genius,* glowing with the *pure flame* of civil liberty. They not only oblige people to *pay* the tax assessed on their goods for the benefit of the Boston poor, but they also oblige them to say, that they are *willing* to do it; when it is notorious that many, if not most of them, would refuse if they *dared.*

Behold, Gentlemen, behold the wretched state to which we are reduced! A *foreign power* is brought in to *govern this province.* Laws made at *Philadelphia,* by factious men from *New-England, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia,* and the *Carolinas,* are imposed upon us by the most *imperious menaces.* Money is levied upon us without the *consent* of our *representatives:* which very *money,* under colour of relieving *the poor* people of Boston, it is too *probable* will be employed to *raise an army against the King. Mobs* and *riots* are encouraged, in order to *force* submission to the *tyranny of the Congress.* A very *respectable gentleman,* who serves his King in

an honourable employment, has been threatened with ASSASSINATION, by the SONS OF LIBERTY, only for—*doing his duty;*—for securing a number of muskets, *illegally imported,* and which were intended to arm the people of *New England* against their *lawful Sovereign.*

TO YOU, Gentlemen, the good people of this province look for relief: on YOU they have fixed their *hopes*: from YOU they expect deliverance from *this intolerable state of slavery.* They have chosen YOU to be the *guardians* of their *rights* and *liberties.* You have hitherto executed the important trust committed to you, with such *fidelity* and *prudence,* as entitle you to their most *grateful acknowledgments,* and encourage them to *depend* upon you with the *utmost confidence.* They know well that all the *insidous arts* that evil-minded and *designing* men can possibly make use of, will be employed, to lead you *away* from that *rectitude of conduct,* which hath hitherto marked *all your actions;* and they anxiously wait the *issue of your deliberations.* If you *assert* your *own dignity*—If you maintain your own rights and privileges, we shall again be a *free* and *happy,* and, I trust, not an *ungrateful* people: but if you *prostitute the dignity of your House;*—if you betray the rights of your constituents, by confirming the decrees of the Congress;—*you* will thereby introduce a *foreign power* to *govern* and *tax* this province, and *we* shall be, of all men, the most wretched.---If laws made, and decrees passed, at *Philadelphia,* by the *enthusiastic republicans* of *New-England* and *Virginia,* are to bind the *people of this province, and extort money from them,* why, Gentlemen, do *you meet?* Is it barely to *register* their *edicts,* and to *rivet* the fetters of their *tyranny* on your *constituents?* Your constituents, in *that* case, would be better *without* you. You would be an useless burthen upon them: *worse* than useless; a snare and a trap to them. Your duty requires you to *interpose your authority,* and to break up this *horrid combination* of *seditious men,* which has already enslaved this province; and which was *intended* to draw the *faithful subjects* of our *most gracious Sovereign* into REBELLION and a CIVIL WAR. The CONGRESS address themselves to the people of this province,

among others, in the following words: "We think ourselves "bound in duty to observe to you, that the schemes agitated "against the colonies have been so conducted, as to render it "prudent, that you should extend your views to *mournful* "events, and be in *all* respects prepared for *every* contingency." They had *war* in their *hearts* when this sentiment was *conceived,* and *rebellion* dictated the *expression.*

What, I beseech you, will be the consequence of pursuing the mode of conduct, which *they* have delineated? It will procure the redress of no *one grievance* we *complain of.* It will not *intimidate* the people of Great-Britain. We see no appearance of fear on their part; but *every circumstance* shews *a settled design* to assert the supremacy and vindicate the authority of the empire. The measures of the Congress will *irritate* them, but never can *conciliate their affections.* Should they in *some degree* distress their trade and manufactures, they will distress *us* much more *severely.* The schemes of the Congress will, from their very nature, operate but slowly against the government and people of Great-Britain; and before they can produce their full effect, the *present contention* will probably be *settled.* The *very next summer* will finish the dispute, either *peaceably,* or by *force of arms.* Should we oblige them to recur to this latter mode of acting, the *Parliament* will probably *make a constitution for us,* without consulting *our* inclinations; and force us to accept it, at the mouths of their cannon. Is it not better to make some *reasonable proposals,* to take *some prudent step towards an accommodation,* before matters come to this *dreadful extremity?* Suppose you do not; but adopt the *mad measures of the Congress;* or suffer them to proceed, and bring their *delirious machinations to effect:* The consequence will be, that you will establish the most ignominious, and *abominable tyranny* over your *constituents,* and over *yourselves,* that ever was invented. They have already *made,* and are now, by means of the *New-York Committee of sixty, executing* laws which *contravene your authority.* They are *levying money* on your *constituents,* without *your consent.* They have impudently *encroached* on the PRIVILEGES OF YOUR HOUSE, by dictating to

your Agent, EDMUND BURKE, Esq; how he shall act in this dispute, without ever *asking your advice*, or waiting for *your opinion*†. Their *abettors* and *supporters* are frequently *insinuating* the *incapacity* and *inability* of the *Honourable House of Assembly*, to do anything of *real consequence* towards settling this *unnatural contention*.

Now, if they treat the *Representatives* of the province in this disrespectful manner, what are the *people* to expect? We shall not dare to eat, or drink, or sleep, or act, or speak, or think, but in the precise mode which they shall direct. They have already regulated our trade and commerce, our manner of living, and our diversions; and, if their VINDICATOR is to be credited, the *next* Congress is to regulate our *courts of justice*. —Then will their tyranny be established; a tyranny of the most dreadful kind;—which *makes* laws and *executes* them without *check or controul*. Then will our happy constitution be destroyed, and a REPUBLIC be raised on its ruins. Then will YOU, Gentlemen, become an useless body; and it will be a matter of no consequence whether you ever meet again, or not.

There is one consideration which, in particular, I must mention; and which, I think, ought to have great weight with *you*, and with *every person*. The people in *New-England* have wrested the *command* of the MILITIA from their *Governors*, which they are diligently training, and forming for *action*. Whatever may be their *ostensible* reason, the *real* one undoubtedly is, to *oppose the King's troops*, and to support a *rebellion* against *their Sovereign*. The people of *Maryland*, and of the *Lower Counties* on *Delaware*, are following their example. The *Pennsylvanians* are calling together a *Provincial Congress*, to meet the 23d instant. They have taken this step even while their *Assembly* is *sitting*. But I wonder not at this: That Assembly, by *approving*, and, as far as their power extends, *confirming* the measures of the GRAND CONGRESS, have *prostituted their own dignity*, and *betrayed the rights of their constituents;*

† See their Letter to the Agents of the several Colonies. But *here* let it be *remarked*, That the *General Strictures* on the *Congress*, are far from being levell'd against the *Delegates* from *New-York;* whose pacific dispositions, and wise endeavours to *accommodate*, tho' *unsuccessful*, ought not to be *unnoticed*.

and unless some *superior power interposes,* they will shortly find themselves *absolutely controlled* by these *grand Continental,* and *petty Provincial* CONGRESSES.

The design of the *projectors* of this provincial congress in Pennsylvania, is undoubtedly to concert a plan for embodying a militia, to act in concert with the New-Englanders, Marylanders, &c. Take care, Gentlemen, that this procedure does not spread, and infect *this* province by the contagion of its example! I cannot conceive a worse state of thraldom, than a military power in any government, unchecked, and uncontrollable by the civil power. And this must be the case, with respect to a militia upon such an establishment as that of Maryland and New England. The laws of the congress, not the laws of the province, will be the rule of its conduct. Enthusiastic delegates, and brain-sick committee-men, will be its commanders; and the friends of order and good government, the devoted victims of its power.

We have been taught to consider the colonies, as being of the utmost consequence to Great-Britain. We have been told that her very *existence,* as a *sovereign state,* depends upon them. Let us suppose this to be true. Let us also suppose that Great-Britain views the colonies in the same light that *we* do; the consequence will be, that she will exert her utmost ability to retain them under her dominion. She will send every man, and every ship that she can spare, rather than suffer them to be torn from her. A considerable army of British troops is already in America. All accounts from England agree in affirming that a larger body will be sent hither *early in the spring.*

Suppose our opposition to the British government should bring on a war, and that the power of Great Britain, as is most probable, should prevail; will she immediately *recall* her troops? Will she subject herself to the expence of transporting *another* army to America, a *few years hence?* Will she not think it more prudent to keep a considerable military force in this country, to support the civil power, and to prevent the American republi-

cans from throwing all into confusion again, that they may accomplish their rebellious purposes?

Suppose 20,000 men should be fixed upon an American establishment; who is to cloathe, feed and pay them? Great-Britain or the Colonies? By driving matters to extremity, we shall oblige Great-Britain to do the very thing that we are endeavouring, at least are *pretending* to endeavour, by our mad schemes, to *prevent*. We shall oblige her to raise a revenue upon us to support an army, to retain us in our dependance on her *imperial authority*.

If the *other* colonies run madly into such measures as must bring ruin upon them, are *we* obliged to imitate and follow them? If the people of New England will kindle a fire, and then rush into it, have we no way to shew our regard and affection for them, but to jump in after them? Let us rather keep out, that we may have it in our power to pull *them* out, before they are burnt to death. A little scorching I believe will not hurt them. It may do them good: it may make them dread the fire hereafter; for, like children, they seem incapable of learning from *any* experience but *their own*.

We, Gentlemen, have no alternative left, but either to join the other colonies in a *war* against Great-Britain, or to make the best terms that we can, for ourselves. The *former* may have the most *old Oliverian* glory in it, but the *latter* is certainly the most *prudent* course. It will save *this province*, and probably the *whole continent*, from *desolation* and *destruction*.

On you, Gentlemen, it depends, under the good providence of Almighty God, whether this war meditated by the Congress, shall blaze out in America, or not. *All* the Colonies in *New-England*, and *some* to the *southward*, have run head-long, under the influence of the Congress, into such measures, as evidently *tend* to a war against our *mother-country*, and our *gracious Sovereign*. This province, as yet, hath taken no decisive step. You have it in your power to establish it in peace and felicity;

to secure it by a firm constitution; to make it the mediatrix with Great-Britain, for all the *other* Colonies, and to prevent the rage of slaughter, and the effusion of human blood.

Act now, I beseech you, as you ever have done, as the faithful representatives of the people; as the real guardians of their Rights and Liberties. Give them deliverance from the tyranny of the *Congress* and *Committees:* Secure them against the horrid carnage of a *civil war:* And endeavour to obtain for them a FREE AND PERMANENT CONSTITUTION.

You know whether, and how far, the people of this province are aggrieved by any acts of the British Parliament; and we look to you to procure us *such* relief as you shall think *effectual.* We know of no representatives but *you,* whom we have legally chosen. On your wisdom and integrity we can rely. We have long known, and often tried you. From *you alone* we expect the means of redressing our grievances, and of guarding our happy form of government, against all *oppression* from *without,* and all *violence* and *insidious innovations* from *within.* From *you,* we expect some plan of accommodating our unhappy disputes with our mother country, and of preventing a renewal of them, by obtaining such a line of government as shall establish the *sovereign authority of Great-Britain* over *all the British dominions,* and at the same time secure the *rights and liberties of the Colonists:* And your *prudence* and *abilities* we know are *equal to the task.*

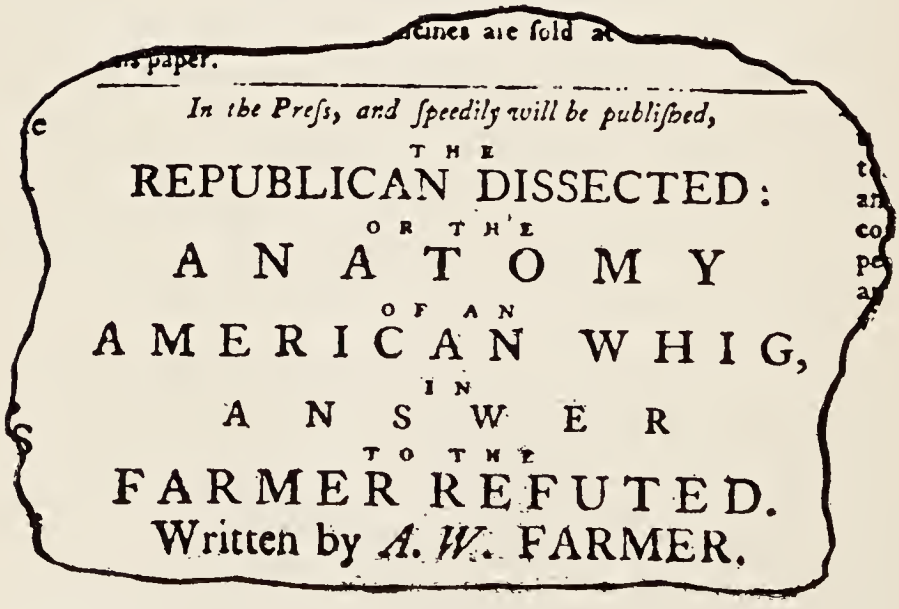
Be assured, Gentlemen, that a very great majority of your constituents disapprove of the late violent proceedings, and will support you in the pursuit of more *moderate measures,* as soon as You have *delivered* Them from the *tyranny of Committees,* from the *fear of violence,* and the *dread of mobs.* Recur boldly to your good, old, legal and successful way of proceeding, by *petition* and *remonstrance.*

Address yourselves to the *King* and the *two Houses of Parliament.* Let your representations be *decent* and *firm,* and

principally directed to obtain a *solid American Constitution;* such as *we* can *accept* with *safety,* and *Great-Britain* can *grant* with *dignity.* Try the experiment, and you will assuredly find that our most gracious Sovereign and both Houses of Parliament will readily *meet* you in the *paths of peace.* Only shew your *willingness* towards an accommodation, by *acknowledging the supreme legislative authority of Great-Britain,* and I dare confidently pronounce the attainment of whatever YOU with *propriety,* can *ask,* and the LEGISLATURE OF GREAT-BRITAIN with *honour concede.*

New-York, January 17, 1775.

F I N I S.



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